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THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC
AND THE
BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

FIFTH VOLUME



Fitzpatrick Edition

The Siege of Quebec
AND THE
Battle of the Plains of Abraham

BY

A. DOUGHTY

IN COLLABORATION WITH

G. W. PARMELEE



In six volumes, with Plans, Portraits and Views

APPENDIX PART II



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1901

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APPENDIX

PART II.

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INTRODUCTION

IN accordance with the plan adopted in the first part of the Appendix, Vol. IV, a brief description is given of the documents published herein. The Townshend Papers, and the two French manuscripts, are of the highest value to the student.

(1) *A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence*, by the Sergeant Major of General Hopson's Grenadiers.

This account of the Siege of Quebec was published in Boston in November, 1759, and it appears to have formed the basis of an article printed in the New York Mercury in December, 1759.

Through the courtesy of the Librarian of Congress at Washington, a transcript was made of the pamphlet preserved in the Library.

(2) *Genuine Letters from a Volunteer in the British Service at Quebec*. The letters are dated from Quebec in September, 1759, and the writer describes himself as "a volunteer among a large body of seamen landed about 5 o'clock in the morning and appointed as a *corps de reserve*." The letters were published in pamphlet form in 1761.

Copies are now valued at ten pounds. A transcript of the pamphlet in the British Museum was made by permission of Mr. Fortescue.

(3) *Fragment of a Journal of the siege of Quebec.* The manuscript which is unsigned and undated forms part of a collection of papers on the Siege, in the British Museum.

(4) *Fragment of a Journal of the Siege of Quebec.* The original document is probably a part of a contemporary Journal, but many corrections and additions were made at a much later period. A copy of the revised text is printed herein, from a transcript made under the direction of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

(5) *Journal of Major Moncrief*, from the first number of the Corps Papers of the Royal Engineers, edited by Col. Williams and printed for private circulation in 1847. The "Corps Papers" contains an excellent plan of the siege of Quebec on a large scale, mounted on linen. A fac simile of the original plan in the possession of the Royal Engineers was made for the late Francis Parkman, in 1854, and is now in Harvard University.

About twenty years ago the late George Desbarats published the Journal of Major Moncrief, with slight variations from the present text, and at the time it was claimed to be identical with the Journal of Mr. James Thompson, a sergeant in Wolfe's army, who, on the 13th of September, 1759, was stationed at Levis.

A grandson of Mr. Thompson is still living in Quebec, from whom the authors have ascertained that "the family did not consider the Journal in question to be that of Mr. Thompson."—

(6) *Letter of Captain Schomberg to Admiral Forbes.*

This interesting account of the earlier days of the Siege is printed from an official copy of the manuscript in the British Museum.

(7) *Letter of James Gibson to Governor Lawrence.* The original is in the public Archives at Halifax. Mr. Gibson was intimately acquainted with the principal officers under Wolfe at Quebec, from whom he ascertained many interesting details concerning the general's line of action. It is evident from this letter that Wolfe's conduct did not always meet with the approval of his officers.

(8) *Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec and the Total Reduction of Canada*, by John Johnson, Clerk and Quarter Master Sergeant of the 58th Regt. of Foot. This long and elaborate Journal is published for the first time herein. There are two manuscripts bearing this title, one in the possession of George Francis Parkman Esqr. of Boston, a nephew of the historian, and one in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa. Copies of both Journals are before us.

Although the facts recorded in the two Journals are practically the same, the manuscript in the possession of Mr. Parkman is much more detailed, and the phraseology varies considerably. The authors desire to acknowledge the service rendered to them by Mr. Parkman who generously placed the manuscript at their disposal, and they are also greatly indebted to officials of the Boston Elevated Rail Road, who permitted the document to be copied in their office, and to be deposited in the vault of the company when it was not required by the copyist.

(9) *Journal of the Particular Transactions of the Siege,*

by an officer, or non-commissioned officer of Fraser's Regiment.

This Journal was contributed many years ago by Mr. Noble to "Notes and Queries" from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. Galloway, of Inverness. It is now republished for the first time by permission of Mr. Francis, the Proprietor of "Notes and Queries." Mr. Francis has also very kindly supplied the authors with a complete list of the references to Wolfe in "Notes and Queries" from the commencement of that publication until the present date.

(10) *The Townshend Papers*. Under this title will be found a series of letters and documents relating to the Siege, of the highest historical value.

In 1887, the Historical Manuscripts Commission published a Calendar of the papers of the Marquess Townshend, comprising several documents of the Siege of Quebec, which are preserved at Raynham, the seat of the family.

The most important papers covering this period are not included in the Calendar, and they are now published *in extenso* for the first time. The authors are greatly indebted to Colonel Townshend, C. B., D. S. O., who allowed copies to be made of the papers in his possession.

(11) *Journal Abrégé d'un Aide-de-Camp*. The original of this interesting journal is in the possession of Madame de Saint Sauveur Bougainville, and the text is printed from a copy generously placed at our disposal by Monsieur R. de Kerallain, of Quimper, France. The journal has not been published hitherto.

(12) *Relation du Siège de Québec*.

This Relation, with its valuable notes, is also from the

priceless collection of manuscripts in the possession of Madame de Saint Sauveur Bougainville. The copy was prepared by Monsieur R. de Kerallain, whose kind offices we have frequently acknowledged.

(13) *Documents and papers re Cadet and Bigot.*

The various documents published under this title form the "Pièces Justificatives" of an article entitled "La Baronnie de la Touche-D'Avrigny" by Monsieur Alfred Barbier, in the "Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest."

These papers throw much light on Bigot and his methods and are of value to the student of history.

A copy of the "Mémoires," was sent to the authors by Monsieur R. de Kerallain.

A
JOURNAL OF THE EXPEDITION
UP THE
RIVER ST LAWRENCE

BY THE SERJEANT-MAJOR OF GEN. HOPSON'S GRENADIERS

Louisbourg, June 1, 1759

We embark'd on board the Transport *Harwood*, bound on the Expedition to *Canada* . . .

The 4th Day we set Sail for the River St. *Lawrence*, which we made on the 9th Day, and there we lay 'til the 16th, before we got into the River; which is very wide and Mountainous. For about forty Leagues up the River the Depth of Water is 100 Fathoms. The 16th Day we came into seventeen fathom Water; and on the 23d we join'd Admiral *Durell*, who had 7 Sail of the Line, with some Frigates with him, which lay as a Guard to protect the River, at a Place call'd the Island of *Coudre*... This island is pleasantly situated, lies partly high, and was very well peopled before we came up:—And passing this Island about a League up, we anchor'd, and two of our Boats went in Shore and was attack'd by a small Party of *Canadians* and *Indians*, and was obliged to retreat to their Ships. . . .

The 25th we made the out End of the Island of *Orleans*, and on the 27th we landed on it without the loss of a Man. A small Party of Rangers were almost surrounded by a large Party of *Indians*; but the Ran-

gers rush'd through them with the Loss of only one Man ; what Damage the Enemy sustain'd is uncertain.

On the 29th the *French* sent five Fire Ships down among our Fleet ; but, thank God, they did no Damage. The same Day we marched about 6 Miles, under the Command of Col. *Carlton*, and encamped that same Night in Sight of the *French* Army, and likewise in Sight of the Town.—Gen. *Monckton's* Brigade and a Party of Rangers landed on the South Side ; we had a small Attack, by which we had 3 kill'd, 2 wounded and 4 taken Prisoners.

July 1st, the Enemy came against our Detachment on the South-side of the River with floating Batteries ; but our Shipping soon drove them off ;—the Damage they suffer'd is not known. Same Day the *Louisbourg* Grenadiers went a Foraging ; we had two kill'd and scalp'd belonging to the 22d Regiment. The same Day we marched to the West End of the Island, in order to join the *Louisbourg* Battalion : A Party of the Enemy fired out of the Woods, and wounded two Men.

July the 5th, a Barge came between the Island and the main Land, to sound the Depth of Water : The *French* fir'd four Cannon-Shot at her, and came down on a large Bar of Sand, from whence they fir'd small arms ; also five Canoes came down the River, loaded with *Indians*, who took the Barge, made one Man Prisoner, and wounded another belonging to the 22d Regiment. On the same Day their floating Batteries attack'd our Shipping ; but was soon obliged to quit their Firing.—Gen. *Monckton* opened a small Battery upon the South Side : The first Day they cannonaded and bombarded on both Sides ; but lost never a Man.

The 8th, we landed on *Quebeck-Shore*, without any Interception, and marched up the River about two Miles ; when the *Louisbourg* Grenadiers being order'd out to get Fascines, they had scarce set down to take a small Refreshment, and detach'd a small Party of Rangers to guard the Skirts of the Wood, before a large Party of *Indians* surrounded them, kill'd and scalp'd 13, wounded the Captain-Lieutenant and 9 Privates ; they likewise kill'd and wounded 14 of the Royal Americans, wounded 2 of the 22d and one of the 40th Regiment : we got only 3 Prisoners, and kill'd 2 of the Savages.

The third Day our Shipping was drove off by the Enemy's Shells.—We got only some few Prisoners, 'til the 12th Day, when the *French*

built a Battery against us, but had not Time to mount any Guns on it ; for we soon demolish'd it with our Field-Pieces and Hawitzers. The fourteenth Day their floating Batteries came out after our Boats, but we soon drove them back again.—The 16th, we set the Town on Fire, about 12 o'clock, which continued burning all that Day.

On the 17th we went out a Fascining, and to make Oars, with a small Party to cover us ;—5 were kill'd of which 4 were scalp'd, and we was oblig'd to quit the Wood directly ; the *Indians* came up very close, and kill'd and scalp'd one Man close by us ; the Grenadiers of the 45th Regiment fir'd upon them, and I saw one drop ; but the *Indians* took him off in a Minute. We had 5 kill'd, belonging to the 35th Regiment, and one dangerously wounded ; the 15th Reg. had one wounded very bad ; but our People returning upon them, made them fly so fast that they were oblig'd to leave their Blankets and Match-coats, with several other Things, behind them ; but we could not get one of them Prisoners. A Deserter came to us, from whom we had an imperfect Account of their Forces ; which, however, gave us some Encouragement.

July 18th, the Deserter went out with our Light-Infantry, to show them a Place where to cross the Falls ; the *Indians* fir'd on them, but hurt none : Likewise the same Night some of our Shipping pass'd the Town, and one run ashore on the South Side of the River. The 19th Day the floating Batteries came out to attack our Shipping round the Harbour ; but our Batteries on the Land-Side drove them off, so that the Shipping receiv'd but two Shot.—On the 20th an Accident happen'd in the Light-Infantry's Camp ; a Man sitting in his Tent, with his Firelock by him, taking hold of the Muzzle to pull it towards him, it went off and wounded him in the Thigh, so that he died the same Night.

The 21st Day of *July* all the Grenadiers cross'd over to the Island of *Orleans* ; the *Indians* attack'd us very smartly, as we was marching to the Water-Side.—Same Day the Enemy open'd two Batteries on us, which raked our Camps. Our Troops, with Seamen, stormed a Battery on the S. Side, spiked the Cannon, broke the Mortars, broke into their Magazine, took all their Powder, and threw all the Shot and Shells into the Water.

July 22d we set the Town on Fire, which burnt all the next Day : Some of our Shipping went to pass the Town ; but they fir'd so hot, that they were oblig'd to turn back.

The 23d 300 Provincials landed on the Island of *Orleans*, which was some Reinforcement.

July 25th, the *Louisbourg* Battalion and three more Companies of Grenadiers, with 3 Companies of Light-Infantry, went round the Island of *Orleans*.—The 27th we arrived at our Camp; and we receiv'd News That our Forces on *Montmorancy* Side had been attack'd the Day before, and likewise got the Better of the Enemy; we had an Account that we kill'd 300 of them, but the Number of wounded none of us could tell: Our loss was 5 Officers and 32 Privates, 12 of whom were kill'd and the rest wounded. The same Day we went to get our Plunder, which we discovered on our March round the Island, consisting of Gowns, Shifts, Petticoats, Stockings, Coats and Waistcoats, Breeches, Shoes, and many other Articles too tedious to mention and some Cash; which, if the Things had been sold to the Value, would have fetch'd upwards of 500 l. Sterl. The same Night the *French* sent five Fire-Floats down, which made great Confusion among our Fleet; but the Men of War sent their Boats and tow'd them ashore, where they burnt out without further Damage.

July 29, *Otway's* and *Hopson's* Grenadiers went on board the *Three-Sisters*, *Wiltmore's* and *Warburton's* on board the *Russell*, the rest in flat-bottom Boats and other Vessels, with a full Intent to land on a Part of the *French* Shore; so as by that Means we might come at the Town:

The first Push we made was on the 31st of *July*: with 13 Companies of Grenadiers, supported by about 5 Thousand Battalion-men;—as soon as we landed we fixed our Bayonets and beat our Grenadier's-March, and so advanced on; during all this Time their Cannon play'd very briskly on us; but their Small-Arms, in their Trenches, lay cool 'till they were sure of their Mark; then they pour'd their Small-Shot like Showers of Hail, which caus'd our brave Grenadiers to fall very fast: Brave Gen. *Wolfe* saw that our attempts were in vain, so he retreated to his Boats again: The number of kill'd and wounded that Day was about 400 Men;—in our Retreat we burnt the two Ships, which we had ran ashore on that side to cover our Landing.

The 3d Day of *August* a Party of Capt. *Danks's* Rangers went from the Island of *Orleans* to *Quebeck* Side, a little down the River; they were attack'd by a Party of *French*, and was smartly engag'd for the Space of half an Hour; but the Rangers put them to flight, kill'd several and

took one Prisoner: The Rangers lost one Lieutenant, who died of his Wounds soon after, and 2 or 3 others. They got a great deal of Plunder.

Aug. 4th the *French* made an Attempt of crossing the Falls; but our Train fir'd Hawits and Cohorns so fast, that they were oblig'd to retreat without accomplishing any Thing;—what Damage was done them I know not.

On the 6th a Victualing Ship sail'd from our Fleet, and went below the Falls, the *French* hoze Shot and Shells in great Number at them; but did them no Harm.

The 8th of *Aug.* two Centinels being at the Falls, they took an *Indian* and bro't him Prisoner to the General, who sent him on board the Admiral. At 12 o'Clock at Night we threw a Carcass and one Shell on the Enemy's Battery of 9 Guns, which blew up their Magazine, Platforms, and burnt with such Violence that some of the Garrison were oblig'd to get into Boats to save themselves from the Flames. The 9th Day we set the Town on Fire, being the 3d Time.

On the 10th the *French* floated a Thing down in the Form of a Floating-Battery; one of our Ships sent out a Boat to see what it was, and just as the Seamen were going to jump on board, it blew up and kill'd one Midshipman and wounded four Sailors. The same Day about 30 Sailors went a Plundering on the South-side of the River, and as they were about their Prey, they was surpriz'd by a Party of *Indians* and drove off; but they all got safe to their Boats, tho' not without the Loss of their Plunder.

The 11th Instant there was an Engagement between our Scouting-Parties and the *Indians*; our People drove them off; we had a great Number wounded, several very badly, but the most slightly; there was but few kill'd: There was one of the 35th Reg. told me, he saw an *Indian* who fir'd at him, but miss'd him; that he levelled his Piece and fir'd at the *Indian* and miss'd him likewise; upon which the *Indian* immediately threw his Tommahawk at him and miss'd him; whereupon the Soldier, catching up the Tommahawk, threw it at the *Indian* and levell'd him, and then went to scalp him; but 2 other *Indians* came behind him, and one of them stuck a Tommahawk in his Back; but did not wound him so much as to prevent his Escape from them.

The 12th Day we had an Account of General *Murray's* going to land above the Town—He made an Attempt to land twice and was beat off; he made the third Attempt, and landed at the South-Shore with the Loss of about 100 kill'd and wounded. The same Day we had an Account from the Enemy, That Gen. *Amherst's* Army was taken very badly, and that they were oblig'd to turn back again.

On the 13th we had an Account by one of the *French* Gunners, who deserted to us that Night, That the Enemy had very little Provisions; he likewise gave an Account what a Body of *French* and *Indians* came over the Falls, the same Side that our Army was on, and that they had four Days Provisions with them, and remain'd there still.

The 14th a Sailor belonging to the *Dublin* Man of War, endeavour'd to swim over to the *French*, over the River; but the Current ran so strong, that he was driven on Shore on the Island-Side and was taken up by one of *Hopson's* Grenadiers and carried to their Quarter-Guard, from whence he was carried on board his own Ship again, stark naked.

The 15th of Aug. Captain *Gorham* returned from an Incursion, in which Service were employ'd, under his Command, 150 Rangers, a Detachment from the different Regiments, Highlanders, Marines, &c. amounting in the whole to about 300, an arm'd Vessel, three Transports, with a Lieutenant and Seamen of the Navy to attend him, of which Expedition they gave the following Account:

“ That on the 4th of *August* they proceeded down to *St. Paul's* Bay, (which is opposite to the North Side of this Island) where was a Parish containing about 200 Men, who had been very active in distressing our Boats and Shipping.—At 3 o'Clock in the Morning Capt. *Gorham* landed and forced two of their Guards; of 20 Men each, who fired smartly for some Time; but that in two Hours they drove them all from their Covering in the Wood, and clear'd the Village which they burnt, consisting of about 50 fine Houses and Barns; destroy'd most of their Cattle, &c.—That in this one Man was kill'd and 6 wounded; but that the Enemy had two kill'd, and several wounded, who were carried off.—That from thence they proceeded to *Mal Bay*, 10 Leagues to the Eastward on the same Side, where they destroyed a very pretty Parish, drove off the Inhabitants and Stock without any Loss; after which, they made a Descent on the South Shore, opposite the Island of *Coudre*, destroyed

Part of the Parish of *St. Ann's* and *St. Roan*, where were very handsome Houses with Farms, and loaded the Vessels with Cattle ; after which they returned from their Expedition."

The same Day 1 of our Schooners went from the Fleet below the Fall, and the *French* fir'd 8 or 9 Shot at her ; but miss'd her. This Day a Party of young Highlanders came to the Island of *Orleans* from Gen. *Monckton's* Encampment ; on Purpose to destroy all the *Canada-Side*.—The same Day our People set one of the Enemy's Floating-Batteries on Fire ;—and in the Night General *Monckton* set the Town on Fire, (being the 4th Time) and the Flames raged so violently, that 'twas imagin'd the whole City would have been reduc'd to Ashes.

August 18th, a Sloop and Schooner went below the Falls ; the *French* hove Shot and Shells at them, but did'em no Damage. The same Day the Enemy hove a Bomb from the Town, which kill'd one Man and wounded 6 more,—one Man had his Arm cut off by a Piece of the same Shell.

On the 20th the *Louisbourg* Grenadiers began their March down the main Land of *Quebeck*, in order to burn and destroy all the Houses on that Side—On the 24th they were attack'd by a Party of *French*, who had a Priest for their Commander ; but our Party kill'd and scalp'd 31 of them, and likewise the Priest, their Commander ; They did our People no Damage. The three Companies of *Louisbourg* Grenadiers halted about 4 Miles down the River, at a Church called the *Guardian-Angel*, where we were order'd to fortify ourselves till further Orders ; we had several small Parties in Houses, and the Remainder continued in the Church.—The 25th, began to destroy the Country, burning Houses, cutting down Corn, and the like : At Night the Indians fired several scattering Shot at the Houses, which kill'd one of the Highlanders and wounded another ; but they were soon repulsed by the Heat of our Firing. —It was said that the Number of the Enemy consisted of 800 *Canadians* and *Indians*. *Sept.* 1st we set Fire to our Houses and Fortifications, and marched to join the Grand Army at *Montmorancy* ; the 3 Companies of Grenadiers ordered to hold themselves in Readiness to march at a Minute's Warning.

The 26th a Serjeant of the 35th Regiment deserted across the Fall,

and our People fir'd several Grape-Shots after him; notwithstanding which he got clear off to the Enemy.

The 27th of *August* some of our Shipping went past the Town, which fir'd so hot at them with Shots and Bombs, that one would have thought it impossible for any Vessel to pass; but they receiv'd little or no Damage. The 29th, 5 Sail went to pass the Town, up the River; the Town fir'd very warm all the Time of their passing, and I was very well informed, That only 15 of their Shot took Place out of all their Firing; Likewise the 30th Instant four of our Ships pass'd the Town, where they kept a continual Firing; but did us very little Damage.

Sept. 1. all the Sick and Women that was on *Montmorancy-Side*, came over to the Island of *Orleans*; on the 2d Instant a large Body of *Wolfe's* Troops came over, with the *Louisbourg* Grenadiers, and encamped that Night on the same Island.

The 3d Day all the Army left *Montmorancy-Side* and we set all the Houses and Fortifications on Fire, and then we embark'd in flat-bottom Boats and came up above the Fall; the *French* fir'd very brisk all the Time of our passing, but did us no Damage, and we went over to Point *Levee* and encamped there.

Sept. 4th the *Louisbourg* Grenadiers and the Remainder of the Army, cross'd over to Point-*Levee* from the Island of *Orleans*, and encamped there.—The same Day 4 Men came from Gen. *Amherst's* Army; they was 26 Days on their Journey, and inform'd us, That we had got *Ticonderoga*, and likewise *Crown-Point*.

Sept. 5th about 5 or 6000 Men Marched up the River on Point-*Levee* Side, to go above the Town, and carried one Month's Provision up in Sloops. The same Day one of the *Royal-Americans*, who was taken Prisoner by the *French-Indians* the 31st of *July* last, made his Escape and came to the *Porcupine* Sloop of War, that lay a little below the Fall; he informs us That there is no more than about 300 *Indians* that carries Arms; but that there was a great number of Women and Children, that they were very scant of Provisions (sic); likewise that he himself had been 48 Hours without any thing to eat: He further said, that the Enemy were very numerous in their Intrenchments, consisting of at least, 14,000 Men, of which 11,000 were *Canadians* and the rest Regulars, the latter of whom were heartily tir'd with the Siege.

Sept. 6th the Schooner *Terror of France* went above the Town, in the middle of the Day, as she pass'd they kept up a constant Fire at her, and she receiv'd five of their Shot; one in her Jib, two in her Mainsail and 2 in her Foresail; but lost none of her Hands, nor did she sustain any further Damage.

The whole Army being on Point-*Levee* Side, the main Body were order'd to get ready to march above the Town, on the South Side, and to take only one Shirt and one Pair of Stockings, besides what we had on: We marched up the River about 8 Miles, and then embark'd on board the Men of War and Transports that were up the River: the Number that embarked was 3349 Men, with a Party of the Train of Artillery.

Sept. 10. the Weather being very wet, and the Troops very much crowded on board the Men of War and Transports, the General thought proper to land us on the South Side again; which was a great Decoy to the *French*: We marched to the Church of St. *Nicholas*, under the Command of General *Monckton*, where we halted. The next Day we received Intelligence of a small Number of *French* and *Indians*, who were driving some Cattle; we dispatched a Party of 500 Men, who took the Cattle, but the Enemy got off.

The 12th we received Orders to embark on board our Ships again. •

The 13th we had Orders to land; so we fell down the River in the Ships and Boats till we came a little above the Town, where the Enemy least suspected us (for where the Enemy thought we should have landed, they had about 600 Horse; but what Number of Foot we could not say; we could perceive that they was intrench'd and had 5 Floating-Batteries to intercept our Landing.)

On the 14th we landed, at break of Day, and immediately attacked and routed the Enemy, taking Possession of a Battery of 4 24-Pounders, and one thirteen Inch Mortar, with but an inconsiderable Loss. We then took Post on the Plains of *Abraham*, whither M. *Montcalm* (on hearing that we had landed, for he did not expect us) hasted with his whole Army (consisting of Cavalry as well as Infantry) to give us Battle; about 9 o'Clock we observed the Enemy marching down towards us in three Columns, at 10 they formed their Line of Battle, which was at least six deep, having their Flanks covered by a thick Wood on each Side, into

which they threw above 3000 *Canadians* and *Indians*, who gauled us much; the Regulars then marched briskly up to us, and gave us their first Fire, at about Fifty Yards Distance, which we did not return, as it was General *Wolfe's* express Orders not to fire till they came within twenty Yards of us—They continued firing by Platoons, advancing in a very regular Manner till they came close up to us, and then the Action became general: In about a Quarter of an Hour the Enemy gave way on all Sides, when a terrible Slaughter ensued from the quick Fire of our Field Pieces and Musquetry, with which we pursue'd them to the Walls of the Town, regardless of an excessive heavy Fire from all their Batteries. The Enemy lost in the Engagement, Lieut. Gen. *Montcalm*, (who was torn to Pieces by our Grape-Shot) 2 Brigadier-Generals; one Colonel; 2 Lieutenant-Colonels; and at least 130 Officers and Men kill'd and 200 taken Prisoners at their very Sally-Ports, of which 58 were Officers. On our Side was killed the brave and never to be forgotten General *Wolfe*; with 9 Officers, 4 Serjeants and 44 Privates; wounded, Brigadier-General *Monckton*; Colonel *Carlton*, Quarter-Master-General; Major *Barre*, Adjutant-General; and 50 other Officers, with 26 Serjeants and 557 Privates.—This Action was the more glorious, as the Enemy were at least 12,000 strong, besides 500 Horse; whereas we, at the utmost, did not consist of above 3500, some of whom did not engage;—for at the Time of the Engagement Colonel *Scott* was out burning the Country with 1600 Men; Col. *Burton* was at Point-*Levee* with 2000 Men; and on the Island of *Orleans* there were 1500; whereas our whole Army, at our first embarking at *Louisbourg*, did not exceed 8240 Men.

At Ten o'Clock at Night we surpriz'd their Guard and took Possession of their Grand Hospital, wherein we found between 12 and 1500 Sick and Wounded.

We lay on our Arms all Night, and in the Morning we secured the Bridge of Boats which the Enemy had over *Charles River*, and possessed ourselves of all, the Posts and Avenues that was or might be of any Consequence leading to the Town, and broke Ground at 100 Yards Distance from the Walls; we likewise got up 12 heavy 24 Pounders; six heavy Twelve Pounders, some large Mortars, and the 48 inch Hawitzers, to play upon the Town, and we had been employed three Days, intending to make a Breach, and storm the City Sword in Hand, but we were prevented by their beating a Parley, and sending out a Flag

of Truce with Articles of Capitulation, and the next Day, being the 17th of *September*, we took Possession of the City, where we found 250 Pieces of Cannon, a Number of mortars, from 9 to fifteen Inches, Field-Pieces, Hawitzers, &c. with a large Quantity of Artillery-Stores.

M. Vaudrenille, the Governor-General of *New-France*, stole out of the City before the Capitulation ; leaving only about 600 Men, under the Command of *Mon. Ramsay*, by whom the Capitulation was signed. The poor Remains of the *French* Regulars, with about 10,000 *Canadians*, retired to *Jaques Quartiees* under the Command of *M. Levy* ; but the *Canadians* deserted him in great Numbers, and came in and surrendered themselves.

Sept. 19th the *French* Garrison were embarked on board Transports : Such of the Inhabitants as would come in and take the Oaths of Allegiance, were permitted to enjoy their Estates.

Brigadier General *Murray* is Governor of the Town, and the whole Army left to Garrison it.

During the whole Siege from first to last, 535 Houses were burnt down, among which is the whole eastern Part of the lower Town (save 6 or 8 Houses) which make a very dismal Appearance. We also destroyed upwards of Fourteen Hundred fine Farm-Houses in the Country, &c.

FINIS.



GENUINE
LETTERS FROM A VOLUNTEER
IN THE
BRITISH SERVICE AT QUEBEC

PREFACE

The conquest of the *Capital of the French Possessions in North America*, is of such importance to Great Britain, as must necessarily afford the highest joy to every sincere well-wisher to his country : nor can curiosity sleep without wishing to know how so happy an event was achieved. To satisfy this curiosity, and to do justice to those who have so nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of liberty and their country, is a principal motive to this publication.

It is hoped, therefore, that the candid public will accept this apology for inviting them to partake of an entertainment originally designed for only a few friends.

In the accounts of extraordinary events, given by authority, it has for the most part been thought sufficient to mention the proceedings, and state the issue of an action in general terms without descending to lesser circumstances ; little incidents, however interesting to private people, might not, perhaps, become the letter of a General or Admiral, and consequently find admission into a Gazette.

Indeed, if the care and anxiety that every Commander in Chief, who is really attentive to his duty, must feel in the scene of a critical action be duly considered, it will be readily admitted, that it is almost impossible for him to be attentive to all those lesser circumstances. The Officers

of any particular regiment can see no more than what passes in his own corps : but the equally anxious, though unemployed by-stander, has opportunity not only for observation, but even for reflection.

Such a bystander is the writer of these letters : scarce anything worth notice escaped his observation ; and the consequence of observation was reflection. The letters were not originally intended for public view. They have been heard and read by many gentlemen of distinction ; it is by their desires they now travel through the press. Vanity has no share in the composition of the writer : Whether the editors friendship has attributed to them more merit than they deserve, the candid reader must determine.

Sterling Castle, in the River St. Lawrence,
two miles below the City of Quebec.

To Mr. J. W.

Sept. 2 1759.

Dear Sir,

June the 13th, the *Eccho* arrived with the ships under her convoy at Louisbourg, where I stayed till the 16th when the *Scarborough* sailing with a convoy for the River St. Lawrence, I took that opportunity to follow the admiral, who had sailed with the grand fleet on the 4th. After a tedious, but pleasant navigation up this vast river, unus'd to British Keels, we arrived July 17th at Coudre, an island on the north side of the river, 18 leagues below Quebec, where we found part of the fleet, and were inform'd, that the Admiral with the rest, and all the land forces, lay up as high as the town. On the 20th I went on board the *Sterling Castle*, where the admiral had hoisted his flag, who received us as usual with assurances of his friendship. I have enclosed you a rough draught, which will give you a better idea of the situation of the fleet and armies, on both sides, than much writing.

The Shipping lay about a league from the town, the course of the river there being near due E. and W. some what more than four miles broad ; but bending its course to the southward, contracts its stream opposite the town, within the limits of three-fourths of a mile, being confin'd within two points of high land ; the northernmost of which may,

with great propriety, be called a mountain, upon whose summit stands a fortress of vast strength, overlooking both the river, city, and adjacent country. At the foot of this mountain, to the N. E. stands the lower town, defended by several batteries, equal with the surface of the water, and so situated, that shipping in passing by the town, must come within the distance of 4 or 500 yards; but these two or three ships might easily silence, were they not cover'd by formidable batteries from the upper town, of forty-two and twenty-four pounders, which, though scarcely more than point-blank from the middle of the river, enjoy so superior a situation, as to defy the cannon of our shipping.

On the other side of the river, upon a high precipice covered with wood, distant from the lower town 1130 yards, and about a mile from the batteries of the upper town, are erected our fascine batteries, from which, since July 13th, when first opened, to the last of August, we have thrown into the town more than 3000 bombs and 22000 shot; of dismal consequence to Quebec, the pride of America, who now sits mourning in ashes the delusive hopes of her aspiring monarch.

This city, the metropolis of the French dominions in America, may vie with many in Europe, is the see of a bishop, and contains within its walls seven parish churches, besides a magnificent cathedral. The governor's and bishop's palaces, though not very regular, are fine structures. The college of Jesuits is a noble large building, with spacious gardens; and all the buildings, both public and private, seem to me composed of free-stone, and erected in the European taste; entertaining, even in its ruins, the beholder with a beautiful and noble prospect.

I have seen Quebec three several times involved in a total blaze, the effect of bombs and carcasses, not to mention numerous fires of less distinction. The lower town is one entire scene of destruction, and the upper scarcely brags a better situation—the dismal consequences of war, which spares nothing, however sacred, having laid a cathedral in ashes, which would have been an ornament to the proudest city in Europe. The rest of the churches, whose steeples are yet standing, have in part shared the same fate; and the palaces, weakened by the vast number of shot, hourly promise to level their princely roofs, and mix with the ruins of inferior buildings.

So much for the present state of this hostile city, the inside of whose

walls is the contested prize which is to decide the fate of a western world, and as yet is dubious. How vainly did you imagine this place would surrender at the sight of an English fleet; supposing the country destitute of provisions, and the inhabitants starving for want of food: On the contrary to oppose a handful of men, our whole army counting at first scarcely 9000, we see, between Quebec and the falls of Mont Morenci eight miles below the town, not less than five camps, containing, by accounts from prisoners, of regulars, Canadians, and Indians, near 22000; and the whole country on both sides the river, for richness of soil, the various gifts of agriculture and its innumerable villages steated in the midst of plenty, may vie with the choicest vales in Great Britain. The Island of Orleans, situated below Quebec, extends itself from east to west near twenty-two miles, its breadth being four; dividing the river into two channels, that for the shipping being on the south side, and is two miles broad. The west end of this island is distant from Quebec four miles, between which, the main land, and Point Levi, opposite the town, where our batteries are erected, is stationed all the fleet.

This island, which I have travers'd through every part, is covered with noble crops of wheat, rye, and barley, intermix'd with fields of pease, so numerous, that both navy and army have been plentifully served with them six weeks, together with greens and fruit in abundance. The whole is, in short, a granary, containing about 900 farm houses, divided into five parishes, to each of which belongs a church, that, in the neatness of its gilding and sculpture, exceeds most of the kind in England.

This whole island, together with numbers of towns, villages and vast tracts of ground covered with grain, for thirty leagues on both sides the river, in case the town does not surrender, is sentenced to destruction, so that a few days may perhaps exhibit a dismal scene of temples and cottages, corn fields and woods, mixed in one universal blaze.

June 27th, General Wolfe landed some brigades on the east part of Orleans without opposition, and marched to the west, the inhabitants having all fled; and on the 29th General Monkton landed without obstruction at Point Levi, two miles below the town, on the south shore; the French, for the better defence of it being encamped on the north. This evening they complimented us with seven fire ships in full blaze, top and top gallant masts set, having a fresh breeze and strong ebb

tide = but Providence protected our ships ; for with all boats manned, we happily towed them ashore, where some of them burned very fiercely next day.

On the 30th, a body of Canadians and Indians incommoding the dispositions of our troops at Point Levi, having their commander slain, were quickly dispersed. This, and the following days, our forces are employed in making redoubts, and fortifying themselves both on the main and Island.

July 4th, A flag of truce to the commandant, from General Wolfe, published his design of attacking the town on the part of his Brittannic Majesty ; at the same time signifying, that it was his Majesty's express command to have the war conducted without practising the inhuman method of scalping, and that it was expected the French troops under his command to copy the example, as they shall answer the contrary.

M. le Marquis de Vadreuil return'd a polite answer to the admiral, assuring him, when the British fleet and army had done gasconading in the French territories, he would return him the two gentlemen belonging to Admiral Durell, took prisoners in the river ; intimating his surprise, that with so few forces he would attempt the conquest of so extensive and populous a country as Canada.

The next eight days includes a variety of incidents, both sides being prodigiously active : but notwithstanding the efforts of the enemy, General Wolfe landed and entrenched 5000 men. within musket shot of their breast-works, on the north side, separated from us by a river, which throws itself into the main stream from a rock more than 300 feet high, perpendicular, forming, perhaps, one of the grandest cascades in the world.

July 13th. We opened our first battery from Point Levi, by six thirty-two pounders and four mortars, and played smartly upon the town, who returned it. We continued day and night a constant fire from thence, to cover the erection of more batteries, till the 19th, when the Sutherland, Diana, Squirrel, and two armed vessels, stealing at midnight by the town, sustained a most violent fire ; and the Diana, having her main top-most wounded, ran aground ; and though within half a mile of the enemies shot, our brave seamen, at high water next day, brought her off in triumph.

On the 29th at midnight, the French General, M. Montcalm, sent down the river, with tide of ebb, above an hundred fire stages ; but the admiral having advice thereof some hours before, the whole fleet was prepared for the alarm. A fight like this, will indeed inspire the imagination with proper ideas of the resistless fury and dreadful grandeur of that consuming element, fire :—such a number of machines, each about eighteen feet square, composed of rafts of timber to a considerable height filled with the most combustible materials, and armed with drags and grapplings to lay hold of hawsers and cables, you must suppose would make a formidable appearance ; each separately representing a lofty pillar of solid fire, and numbers of them uniting would frequently form a bank of fire a quarter of a mile long. These likewise did us no harm, and were, like the fireships, drag'd ashore by the boats.

The last of this month General Wolfe made an attempt to land his forces west of the fall, and force the Enemy from their entrenchments : two armed vessels from the transports were sent before noon to bring their broad-sides to bear upon two batteries raised upon the water-edge to oppose our landing, and according did so, together with the Centurion, which ship I had the pleasure to be in during the action : but she drawing more water than the others, could approach no nearer than three quarters of a mile, while they got within 500 yards of the French batteries : we kept an incessant fire from the three ships for four hours, till at length some of their guns being dismounted they deserted their works, and ceased firing : The General's batteries from the mount, during all this time, kept a continual fire from thirty pieces of ordnance, and almost as many small mortars, upon the enemy within their trenches, who, at the same time, from a large mortar two miles to the westward threw numbers of shells at the ships, and in the midst of our flat-bottomed boats, but without doing much damage, the Admiral being in person there equally exposed with the meanest seamen or soldiers.

Mr. Wolfe being in the first boat, had soon got 2000 men ashore ; and there was now the greatest prospect of succeeding, when the overbearing courage and impetuosity of the grenadiers totally defeated the General's scheme ; for while he was busy in landing the remaining troops, and making the proper dispositions, without orders they rushed up the hill, or rather a steep sandy precipice, picketted along, and defended on the top with 8 or 10000 men, covered with a deep breast-

work, incapable of being hurt by our musketry—these lines and breast-works they have continued from the falls quite to Quebec, being a tract of defensive works more than eight miles long.

Into this snare, did our soldiers, not knowing the General's intention, nor waiting his command, heedlessly throw themselves, all of them rushing forward to support their comrades; when, on a sudden, whilst they were labouring up the hill, sinking in the sand and entangled in the pickets, from the breast-works on the brow of the hill descended such a shower of musketry as is not to be described, which continued without intermission for the space of twenty minutes; when, providentially, though as fine a day as summer can dispence, one of the most heavy showers, for half an hour, that ever I experienced fell unexpectedly, and put a stop to their firing; our men could not advance, and would not retreat; what was most unlucky in their advancing, they got between our fire from the Centurion and a deserted French battery; which, when the enemy saw, they instantly reoccupied, and by that time the General had reduced his men to some order, begun with grape and round to sweep away whole ranks, and play at ducks and drakes amongst the boats; but death is incapable of putting Britains to confusion: they made a noble retreat, the General ship'd part in the boats, and with the rest marched across the falls: our loss amounted to 400 killed and wounded, and were obliged to burn our two battering vessels.

From August 1, to September 1, have been employed in bombarding the town, in various skirmishes about the falls, where scalping is practised on both sides; as it is likewise by our ranging parties, who scour all the country, and are daily bringing in cattle and sheep by 2 or 300 head at a time.

On August the 6th, 1200 men past the town in boats and being opposed by 4000 of the enemy in making an attempt to land on the 8th we lost several. This action was at Trembleau, eleven leagues above the town; but landing at Chambaud, seven leagues higher up, we defeated a large party, took a great many prisoners, and on the 19th burnt and blew up a large magazine of stores and powder. On the 26th the Leostoffe, Hunter, two Victuallers, and an armed sloop, ran the gauntlope by the town, as did, two days ago, the Seahorse and four more vessels; so we now have a tolerable fleet above, and are in hopes of securing three

frigates and some transports that are retreated into shoal water twenty eight leagues above the town.

It is imagined we soon shall storm, having two grand batteries ready to open in a couple of days, and more ships coming up : God knows the success, we shall have warm work, but what British courage can do will be done ; the Admiral, General, and whole fleet and army being in high spirits.

Dear Sir, accept of this account to treat your friends with ; you will, I am certain, have it with the first ; it is all I have at present to return for every kindness I have received at your hands—I am conscious you will give me credit when I affirm myself to be sincerely

Your's &c.

EXTRACT FROM ANOTHER LETTER OF THE SAME DATE, ADDRESSED
TO MR. M. P.

The ravages of war are truly terrible, but may be rendered still more so, if cruelty grows wanton. Happily this is not the temper of Britons, whose natural humanity forbids their sporting with real distress. Some severity became necessary to curb the pride of an insulting enemy, and to convince them we were actually in earnest.

Hence proceeded those devastations already mentioned, which drew from the Governor of Quebec a sort of remonstrance, addressed to our commanding officer, with a menace to this effect. "That if the English did not desist from burning and destroying the country, he would give up all the English prisoners in his power to the mercy of the Indian savages." To this threat, our spirited commander is said to have sent a reply to the following purport. "That his Excellency could not be unapprized of his having in his possession a considerable number of fair hostages : that as to the prisoners he might do as he pleased ; but, at the same time, he might be assured, that the very instant he attempted to carry his threat into execution, all the French Ladies, without distinction, should be given up to the delicate embraces of the English tars."

N. B. We have at least three, if not four transports; full freighted with French females ; some of them women of the first rank in this country.

THE FOLLOWING ANECDOTE, TAKEN FROM THE PRECEDING LETTER,
APPEARS TO THE EDITOR WORTHY OF BEING
REMEMBERED

Notwithstanding the check we received in the action (of the 31st of July) it must be admitted our people behaved with great vivacity. I cannot omit being particular with respect to a singular instance of personal bravery and real courage.

Captain Ochterlong (1) and Lieutenant Peyton (both of General Moncton's regiment) were wounded, and fell before the breast-work near the falls. The former, mortally, being shot through the body ; the latter was wounded only in his knee. Two savages pushed down upon them with the utmost precipitation, armed with nothing but their diabolical knives. The first seized on Captain Ochterlong, when Mr. Peyton, who lay reclining on his fusse, discharged it, and the savage dropt immediately on the body of his intended prey.

The other savage advanced with much eagerness to Mr. Peyton, who had no more than time to disengage his bayonet, and conceal its disposition. With one arm he warded off the purposed blow, and with the other stung him to the heart : nevertheless, the savage, tho' fallen, renewed his attempts, insomuch that Mr. Peyton was obliged to repeat his blows, and stab him through and through the body.

A straggling grenadier, who had happily escaped the slaughter of his companions, stumbled up on Captain Ochterlong, and readily offered him his services. The Captain, with the spirit and bravery of a true Briton, replied, " Friend, I thank you :—but with respect to me, the " musquet or scalping knife, will be only a more speedy deliverance from

(1) Ochterlony, see biographical note vol. V.

"Glad — I have but a few minutes to live.—Go—make haste—and tender my service where there is a possibility it may be useful." At the same time he pointed to Mr. Peyton, who was then endeavouring to crawl away on the sand.

The grenadier took Mr. Peyton on his back, and conveyed him to the boat but not without each receiving a wound—Mr. Peyton in his neck and his rescuer another near his shoulder.

To Mr. J. W.

Quebec, Sep. 20, 1759.

Dear Sir,

This, join'd to my last by the Rodney Cutter, will finish my long narrative; but first permit me to give you joy of the effectual conquest of *Quebec*, which I could not venture to promise in my last. On the 3d of September, General Wolfe, having before-hand carried off all his artillery and stores, transported all the the forces at Montmorencie over to Point Levi, having first set fire to his redoubts, and destroy'd his intrenchments. The enemy durst not pass the falls, nor did they attempt to molest him in his retreat: they contented themselves with cannonading the boats, but without any injury to us.

On the 5th, everything being in readiness, the general march'd with 5000 men along the south shore, some shipping, and all the boats attending upon his motions. The enemy commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm, were drawn up on the opposite side, and kept a strict eye over all his proceedings. In this manner marching and counter-marching, with an intent to decive (tho' in vain) our army spent the following seven days.

Be the next day recorded for ever!—a day not less fatal to the flag of insolence and ambition, than glorious to the brave men who fought in the cause of honour, justice, and Britain.

In the evening of the 12th or rather a little before mid-night, the shipping made a feint upon the turn of the tide, as if they intended to get higher up the river; but the boats being loaded with troops, taking the advantage of the wind, stole down. The Marquis de Montcalm, who

in the dark could barely discern the motion of our larger vessels, was deceived, and discovered his mistake, but too late to redress it.

Before three o'clock in the morning, General Wolfe landed at a fascine battery, erected to gall our shipping above the town, in so silent a manner, that the very centinels were surprised upon their posts. But let me not be misunderstood, this was effected by a party of our troops coming on the back of them, for in truth, the enemy fired very smartly from their batteries upon the boats, while they were landing.

The next difficulty he had to surmount was, to gain the ascent of a prodigious high hill, in which he succeeded, and by break of the morning dawn, the army was regularly drawn up in order of battle, within two musquet shots of the town, and almost under the walls of the citadel.

With respect to the particular dispositions of the respective armies, I doubt not but you will receive, by the same conveyance, a more accurate account, than I can assume to give you but I can be tolerably perfect as to the action.

The enemy continued a brisk fire at a distance, while ours was kept in reserve. The centre, commanded by General Wolfe in person, having fired no more than twice, before the French sensibly experienced the sharpness of their bayonets: And the Highlanders discharging their pieces, fell in sword in hand, *indeed very unpolitely*, and made a havock not to be described. A total rout ensued; part of the enemy fled into the woods, part into the town, and the rest fell in the field:—But, alas! our brave general: *He* likewise fell:—crowned with conquest, he smiled in death:—His principal care was, that he should not be seen to fall:—Support me, said he, to such as were near him, let not my brave soldiers see me drop:—the day is ours:—Oh! keep it—and he died.

Thus fell a noble, a much loved, a much lamented officer. Britain must regret the loss, but in the day of danger, may she never want a commander with the qualittes of a *Wolfe*, to support her rights, and fight the battles of honour and liberty.—General Moncton is also dangerously wounded.

I have already mentioned the havock made by the Highlanders: the bullet and bayonet are decent deaths, compared with the execution of their swords.—Happy in escaping unhurt, I travers'd the field of battle,

while strewed with bleeding carcasses, and covered with unemployed arms; a neat silver-mounted hangar, fastened to the side of an apparently headless trunk, and which consequently was useless to its original French possessor, attracted my attention. When the body was turned over, in order to unbuckle the belt, my astonishment was indeed great: his head lay underneath his breast, one stroke upon the back of his neck, having cut thro' the whole, except a small part of the skin of the throat, by which it remained connected with the body.

This is a digression, and I have no time to spare.—The French General, the celebrated marquis de Moncalm, could not survive so fatal a field.—He was carried off early with a shot through his body. His second in command met the same fate.

On the 17th, the admiral dropping up with twelve sail of line of battle ships before the town, a flag of truce was hung out, and the same evening it surrendered; (for by Gar, Monsieur was frightened) tho' the articles of capitulation were not signed till the next day, when we took possession of it.

Our joy upon this occasion is so great, that we scarcely believe it is Quebec; but it is certain that from thence I have the pleasure of transmitting this to you, wrote in the midst of ruin—in some merchant's dining-room, whose present ornaments are two pier and one chimney glass, shivered with their frames upon the floor; a marble slab and a turkey ice-jar, a fretted ceiling and pannelled cedar wainscot, in the same shattered condition; manifestly the effect of a bomb, that had fallen thro' all the upper rooms of the house, into the kitchen on the second floor.

Before I conclude, it may not be amiss to mention my own situation on the important 13th.—I was a volunteer among a large body of seamen, landed about five o'clock in the morning, and appointed as a *corps de reserve*.—But such was their impetuosity to engage, and their resentment at being kept out of danger, that, according to their accustomed politeness, they were perpetually d-mn-g their eyes, &c. because they were restrained from pushing into the heat of the fire, before they were wanted.

Believe me, very sincerely,

Yours &c.

POSTSCRIPT.—We hope soon to have an opportunity of communicating more good news, nor shall I fail embracing every opportunity of acquainting my good friend, with whatever appears to me interesting, or entertaining.

FRAGMENT OF JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

After much pains taken to get at the French Army, and to invite them to Battle in Open Ground without Success, and finding it impracticable to force so superior Numbers in such very strong Trenches, the Camp at Montmorency was broke up, and it was agreed between the Admiral and Generals to force a landing somewhere above the Town, though the Lands there are very high and steep, and were well guarded with French Troops, however Sellery was the Place fixed upon, though not the easiest Place to land at. It is within 2 Miles of the Town, the Ground above it clear and proper for a Battle: On the 12th of September Admiral Holmes was 4 or 5 Leagues above the Town with the Frigate and some Transports, and all the Generals with 4000 Men part of which were Encamped on the South Shore, at Night they were all embarked and every thing prepared for them to fall down upon the Ebb Tide in the Boats, and the Ships to follow keeping such a Distance as to prevent a Discovery, yet to be at hand to support the Troops at Landing, accordingly Things were so very nicely conducted that notwithstanding a dark Night, a narrow Channel, and a Rapid Tide, our Men were actually on Shore at day break, and some of the Light Infantry scrambled up the Cliff before the Enemy's Guard discovered them, and by the time their Battery of four Cannon and a Mortar began to fire, our Ships were posted ready to support the Troops, who soon got up the Hill, drove away the Enemy, took possession of the Baldery and all their Posts; Afterwards they marched up into open Ground called the Heights of Abraham, the Boats went to the opposite Shore, and brought over a 1000 Men (who marched there in the Night from the Camp at Levi) these Men joined the Army before 10 o'clock: About the same time the whole of the French Army were assembled under the Walls of the Town, and formed in the Front of

Ours : Whilsts these Dispositions were making the French had large Flanking Parties composed of Canadians and Indians, who lay upon the Two Wings of our Army and from behind a few Bushes and a little Hillock kept a constant Scalding fire upon our Men ; These Flanking Parties were, during the Battle, to have advanced into the Rear of Our Army. A little after 10 the whole Force on both Sides being collected, and the Dispositions completed, the French came on with great Fury to the Attack, but they were so well received that at 40 Minutes after Ten they were totally Routed and fled into the Town (which fortunately for them was very near) they passed through the Town and assembled again about the great Hospital, from whence our People drove them over Charles River into the Plains of Beauport, from thence they retired in the Night we know not Where first breaking the Bridge over Charles River. Our People work'd all that Night intrenching themselves and throwing up Works for besieging the Town, in which Service, the Soldiers and Seamen continued to work Night and Day with the utmost Cheerfullness till the 18th. In the Forenoon the Men of War advanced before the Town into the Bason, to be ready to make a joint Attack with the Army ; About 4 in the Afternoon the Governor sent an Officer out to the Camp, and offer'd to Capitulate, the Admiral went there, and having with the Generals, agreed upon the Alterations to be made in the Offers sent from the Governor, the Officer was sent back into the Town with a message to the Governor that he must determine by Eleven o'Clock that Night, for after that Time no Capitulation would be accepted ; Accordingly he returned exactly at that Hour, with the Governor's answer that he submitted to the Alterations, and Hostages were given on both Sides for the due Execution so soon as the Admiral could be acquainted with it. On the 19th at Ten in the Morning Captain Pallisser and Captain——were sent into the Town with the Articles for the Governor's signing and at four in the Afternoon Colonel Murray with the Grenadiers march'd into the upper Town, and Captain Pallisser with the Seamen landed in the low Town and took Possession.

FRAGMENT OF JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE LIBRARY OF
CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON

Squadron under Admiral Holmes fell down the river in the night, and in profound silence the soldiers were embarked, and the Squadron then moved three leagues. Above the spot designed for the landing :— there, the Soldiers left the ships, and taking to the boats which were under the command of Capt. Cook [afterward the celebrated circumnavigator] dropped down with the current so quietly that the French sentinels who were posted along the shore—they reached a place since known by the name of Wolfe's Cove—A small bay which opened into the land, at the spot where the elevated plains of Abraham, which had a slight descending inclination from the rear of the city, terminated in an abrupt and almost perpendicular cliff, its base being washed by the water of the river and the cove.—The ships followed the boats to cover the landing : the place intended was overreached, & it was effected at one more difficult of access, where a single narrow path which admitted only two men to pass, abreast, wound up from the water to the summit of the Cliff.— When Wolfe measured its towering height with his eye, he deemed the ascent impracticable, but told his officers that the trial must be made. The path was defended by a Captain's guard, but the light infantry commanded by Col. Howe [well known subsequently as Sir William Howe] sustaining themselves by the stumps and branches of trees—bushes—roots and vines—ascended—dislodged the guard and forined on the height.—The Grenadiers and whole army followed and when the day dawned on the 13th of September—it stood on the Plains of Abraham in perfect order of battle.

On hearing that the English had gained the Plains—Montcalm was thunderstruck.—The ground presented difficulties of such magnitude

that he had believed the ascent unpracticable, and deeming the city inaccessible from that quarter had neglected to strengthen it by artificial works.—He saw his error,—and anticipated a simultaneous attack from the whole English fleet and army on the lower and upper towns of Quebec; an attack which could be prevented only by a battle on the plains: for this without faltering he made prompt and skifull preparations evincing the calm wisdom and firm purpose of a veteran General. Montcalm has been blamed for leaving his works and risqueing a battle in the open fields and it has been said in excuse that he did it in the hope of meeting the English before they could avail themselves of their whole force. Various motives might have concurred to induce him to take the field, but his course was probably determined by what he deemed an imperious necessity. Throughout the whole siege, no hasty impatience for battles has been discovered, and his conduct had been marked with extreme caution: not one rash or even imprudent step could be imputed to him,—and he was regarded by friends and foes as an accomplished Soldier. He filled the bushes with 1500 Indians and marksmen. His regulars were formed on the left, and the colonial troops supported by two battalions of regulars on the right—and on that side the Indians and Canadians endeavoured to outflank the left of the English.—The English right consisting of six regiments, with a regiment in the rear as a reserve, all under the command of Gen. Townsend, was formed *En potence*, presenting two points to the enemy: the Louisbourg Grenadiers were extended on the right of these regiments to the river.

The English were ordered to reserve their fire and await the advance of the enemy; annoyed as they were by the Indians and Canadian Militia they remained silent and motionless, not a gun was discharged, no sound was heard except thrilling tones of the Commander as they broke upon the deep stillness of the hour, until they had approached within the distance of forty yards, and then the fire of the English was poured into their main body in a tempest of bullets,—and sustained with such vivacity that they recoiled.

While the French were moving on the English line—Gen Wolfe stood at the head of the Louisbourg and Bragg's Grenadiers: his excited spirit was pouring itself forth in animated exhortations and fiery eloquence—which springs from that deep emotion which none but war-

rriors can feel.—Which when “the noise of battle hustles in the air” none but heroes can utter & contending nations are about to grapple in mortal fight—A bullet from a Canadian marksman struck his wrist : he bound a handkerchief over the wound, and his exertions were not relaxed—a few moments afterwards another bullet passed into his groin : his manner was not changed his exertions were not relaxed, his voice was still heard amidst the din of the fight and his men knew nothing of his wounds : at the moment of the recoil of the French another bullet struck him in the breast :—lest his soldiers should see him fall, he called on an officer to support him, but life was ebbing fast from his wounds and exhausted nature yielded :—he sank to the ground, and as a Surgeon was in attendance, he reluctantly permitted himself to be removed behind the ranks :—Monckton then assumed the command, it was momentary for he fell almost instantaneously by a bullet which passed through his body, inflicting a wound which was supposed to be mortal and he was conveyed out of the line.—On the left an attack of the right wing of the enemy aided by the Savages : had been repelled by Townsend and upon him : the command now devolved.—As he passed on to assume his position in the centre he perceived that the French were in confusion and beginning to break : he pushed the English on : the moment was critical : a panic was amongst the French : the bayonets of the Grenadiers were at their backs :—the broadswords of the Highlanders were flashing over their heads : there was no time to rally : borne down in the assault : the French abandoned the ground and fled in wild disorder from every post, never pausing until they had crossed the St Charles and had sheltered themselves behind the ramparts of the city, leaving the English on the field with no enemy in sight.

During this deadly conflict the English left was completely protected against the Indians and Canadians by the light infantry under Col. Howe.



CORPS PAPERS OF THE ROYAL ENGINEERS

JOURNAL OF MAJOR MONCRIEF

April.—Louisbourg was appointed the place of rendez vous for assembling the forces destined for the service of this expedition ; but as the harbour might not be open early enough, Halifax, which was within a short run of it, was likewise appointed for the same purpose, and there the first steps in America relating to that service were taken.

The first accounts of the intended expedition came to Halifax in the beginning of April, and a squadron of eight men-of-war of the line which had wintered there under the command of Admiral Durell, began to prepare for a cruise in the Gulf and River of St Lawrence.

April 8th.—The Honourable Brigadier-General Murray, who was appointed upon the staff, being at Halifax in garrison, made an application to Brigadier-General Lawrence, the governor, for providing such necessaries for the service of the siege as might be procured there to advantage and conveniently transported. The governor readily complied with this demand, and without loss of time gave directions accordingly.

April 22nd.—The Honourable Brigadier-General Monckton, the second in command, arrived from the continent, and being made acquainted with the particulars to be provided approved of their being forwarded.

April 30th.—Admiral Saunders arrived with a fleet from England, he had made attempts to get into Louisbourg ; but was prevented by the ice, which still remained in great quantities along that coast. Major-General Wolfe, Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition, the Hon. Brigadier-General Townshend and Colonel Carleton, deputy-quarter master-general, with some other officers, arrived in the fleet.

This evening there was a detachment of 650 men from the garrison of Halifax, two engineers, a proportion of intrenching tools, an officer and a small detachment of artillery, with a couple of field pieces, under the command of Col. Carleton, ordered on board Admiral Durell's fleet, which still remained in the harbour, and now in readiness to sail. This command was to take place in one of the islands of the River St Lawrence, which should be most advantageous for preventing succours from going to the enemy.

May 2nd.—The preparations begun at Halifax were approved of by the general, and, with some other additional articles, ordered to be forwarded with all despatch; and the fleet from England began to refit and water with great diligence.

May 3rd.—Admiral Durell's fleet sailed this morning down the harbour; but the wind proving contrary, they were obliged to anchor at Mauger's Beach, where they remained till the 5th, and then got to sea.

May 13th.—This morning Admiral Saunders sailed for Louisbourg, with all the ships that were in readiness. We met Admiral Holmes off Cape Sambro with two ships, the Somerset and Terrible; these ships having met with rough weather at sea, and got some damage, were ordered into Halifax to refit. Admiral Holmes hoisted his flag on board another ship, and proceeded with us to Louisbourg. Brigadier-General Monckton remained at Halifax to see that garrison embark and to forward some particulars relating to the expedition.

May 15th.—In the morning we made Cape Canso; about noon we made the island of Cape Breton, the coast of which was still full of ice; in the evening we got into Louisbourg harbour, where we found the Bedford and Prince Frederick, which had wintered there, and the Northumberland, lately arrived from England.

May 17th.—The Nightingale and convoy with Frazer's battalion arrived from New York. The General ordered such further necessities as were not already provided at this place, with all possible despatch. The troops were now coming in daily as the weather permitted, which was often so foggy that many vessels must have run ashore upon the coast, if the noise of the surf had not apprised them of their danger. The easterly winds which brought the fogs brought likewise great quantities

of ice, and made the navigation still more troublesome. The harbour of Louisbourg was so full for several days that there was no getting on board or ashore without a great deal of trouble and some danger.

May 31st.—Brigadier-General Monckton arrived with four battalions from Halifax, and two battalions from the bay of Fundy. Our whole force was now assembled, consisting of ten battalions, three companies of Grenadiers from the garrison at Louisbourg, a detachment of artillery, and five companies of rangers, the whole amounting to 8,535 men, fit for duty, officers included. They were proportioned on board the transports to the best advantage. They were landed for air and exercise, when the weather permitted, during our stay, and these opportunities were taken to stow the water and provisions on board. The transports were divided into three divisions, under the command of Brigadier-Generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, each on board of a frigate with a distinguishing pendant to lead and repeat the signals of the division.

June 4th.—This morning Admiral Saunders sailed out of Louisbourg harbour with as many of the fleet as could follow; but the wind coming contrary soon afterwards, there was a considerable part left behind, and remained till the 6th, in the morning, during which time the Admiral kept in the offing, then the remaining part came out and the whole made sail in the evening.

June 9th.—Being off the Bird Island, we were joined by another company of rangers, of about 100 men, from the Bay of Fundy.

June 18th.—In the evening we came to an anchor for the first time since we left Louisbourg, at the Isle of Bique. From this place we were, for the most part, obliged to take advantage of the tides of flood and daylight, as the currents began to be strong, and the channels narrow. About this time we had accounts by a small vessel taken by one of Admiral Durell's cruizers, that a French fleet got up the river before Admiral Durell's arrival, consisting of three frigates, and about twenty sail of transports, with recruits, clothing, arms, ammunition, provisions and merchandize.

June 26th.—In the evening the last division of our transports passed through the traverse at the lower-end of the Isle of Orleans, which though

reckoned dangerous, our ships turned up with a contrary wind; this piece of seamanship surprized the enemy a good deal, for we were perhaps the first that ever attempted to get through in that manner; indeed, there were boats with flags anchored upon the shoals, on each side of the channel, which was a necessary precaution, with so unfavourable a wind.

It must be observed that we found the navigation of the river much less difficult than we could expect from the accounts given of it; out of our great fleet consisting of near 200 sail, there was not a single ship lost nor any damage sustained, except that of losing a few anchors and cables, where there were strong currents and foul ground. The weather had been pretty moderate ever since our departure, which no doubt contributed to this part of our good fortune.

In our way up we found one of Admiral Durell's squadrons at anchor, near Green Island, the admiral himself with some more in the north channel of Isle of Coudres and two or three in the south channel of the Isle of Orleans; the three-deck ships were left in the north channel of the Isle of Coudres, lest there might not be water enough for their getting through the traverse.

June 27th.—In the morning, the signal was made in the south channel of the Isle of Orleans off the Church of St. Lawrence for landing the troops: this was immediately set about, and met with no opposition, the island having been abandoned some time before. While the troops were disembarking, the general went to the Point of Orleans with an escort, called by the French *Bout de l'Isle*, and saw the enemy encamped along the north shore of the basin in eight different encampments, extending from the River St. Charles, to within a mile of the Falls of Montmorenci, and the coast fortified all along as far as the encampments reached. There were some floating batteries launches, and batteaux with cannon in the creeks along the shore. These precautions in the enemy were plain indications that the most advantageous landing and the most practicable must be upon that coast. There was no judging, with certainty, of the enemy's strength from the extent and number of their encampments; but we had good intelligence that they were about 15,000 or 16,000 men; after taking a full view of all that could be seen from this place, the general returned to St. Lawrence, and ordered the troops, there disembarked, to encamp. The 3rd. Battalion of Royal Americans remained on board till further orders.

In the afternoon there came on a heavy gale of wind at N. E. which occasioned a good deal of damage among our transports, and, as we afterwards learned, gave the enemy very favourable hopes of an easy riddance ; if it had come on in the night time, or continued some hours longer, it might in some measure have answered their expectations ; we, however, escaped without losing any ships ; some few vessels had run ashore, but were afterwards got off, and the only loss we felt sensibly was that of our boats, which affected our motions throughout the whole campaign.

June 28th.—About eleven at night the enemy sent seven fire ships from the town to go down the south channel and burn our fleet ; but they managed them so as to entertain us instead of annoying us : they set them on fire and left them to the direction of the current before they got within half a mile of our headmost ship, which gave our boats time to grapple and tow them ashore, though all in flames, and there they burnt down without touching a single ship.

June 29th.—In the morning Colonel Carleton with three companies of grenadiers was sent from St. Lawrence to encamp on the *Point of Orleans*. In the evening Brigadier General Monckton crossed the south channel from St. Lawrence to Beaumont, with four battalions, three companies of light infantry, and some rangers, and marched from thence next morning and in the evening took possession of Point de Levy.

In that march his advanced and flanking parties, exchanged some few shots with some of the enemy's scouting parties, and picked up a box of papers belonging to their commanding officer, which made some discoveries. Point de Levy was immediately begun to be fortified, and was kept for a hospital and a place of arms during the campaign.

July 2nd.—There were three battalions sent from St. Lawrence to encamp at the Point of Orleans, under the command of Brigadier-General Townshend. The place was likewise begun to be fortified for a place of arms and a hospital, and kept during the campaign. Here the general for the present fixed his head-quarters.

July 3rd.—The remainder of the army at St. Lawrence came to the Point of Orleans under the command of Brigadier-General Murray.

July 4th.—Brigadier-General Murray went up the south side of the

river, towards the Etchemins, to reconnoitre and take a view of the opposite side above the town. Upon his return there was a plan fixed for landing there, and some rafts, for ferrying the troops across the river, were ordered to be made at Point de Levy ; but that plan was soon afterwards laid aside.

July 5th.—The 48th battalion, with three companies of light infantry and some rangers under the command of Colonel Burton, were encamped and cantoned near Point-des-Pères to cover some works and batteries ordered this day by the general to be erected there against the town.

July 8th.—The general with the grenadiers of the army, six companies of light infantry, and two of rangers, marched from the camp, at the Point of Orleans, about eight in the evening, and between eleven and twelve crossed the north channel a little above St. Peter's church, and about two next morning took possession of the ground upon the east side of the Falls of Montmorenci ; he was followed the same night by the three battalions under the command of Brigadier-General Townshend. There was no opposition made to our taking up ground, and it seems probable that the enemy did not discover us until daylight next morning, for, by the stir then in their camp, they seemed to be somewhat alarmed. This camp was immediately begun to be fortified, and here the General fixed his head-quarters while he kept possession of it.

July 11th.—In the morning we discovered that the enemy had in the night time begun to advance their breast-works upon the edge of the bank towards the Falls. This night Brigadier-General Murray brought the remainder of our army which still lay at the Point of Orleans, to the camp at Montmorenci, having left that post to be guarded by a detachment of marines landed for that purpose.

July 12th.—There were two batteries opened against the town at Point des Pères, one of six 32-pounders, the other of five 13-inch mortars.

July 16th.—A carcass from our battery set the town on fire on the north side of the Jesuit's Square, in the street *La Fabrique* and burnt for several hours.

This night the Sutherland and some transports passed the town with the 3rd battalion of Royal Americans, with some other troops on

board, under the command of Colonel Carleton, which we understood by deserters, had alarmed the enemy a good deal.

July 20th.—There was another battery opened against the town at Point-des-Pères of four sea service mortars, three 13-inch, and one 10-inch, it having been found by a trial made, that a bombketch could not lay her broadside to the town for the strength of the current, the sea mortars were therefore employed by land.

July 21st.—There was a descent made at *Pointe-aux-Trembles*, seven leagues above the town, on the north side, by Col. Carleton, his party was fired upon, at first landing, by some Canadians and Indians, but they were soon dispersed. He took some plans and papers; a good many women, and a few men prisoners. Major Prevost, with one or two more officers, and a few privates were wounded, and a few other privates killed.

July 22nd.—At night there was a considerable fire in the town caused by a carcass, which burnt the cathedral and ten or twelve good houses in its neighbourhood.

July 26th.—About three this morning the General, and Brigadier-General Murray, with the 35th regiment, five companies of light infantry, and one of the rangers, and two field-pieces, set out from Montmorency camp to reconnoitre two fords about five miles above the Falls; after we had gone about a mile and a half, the field-pieces were sent back to camp, the road being too bad to get them on; about half way between the camp and the ford, the road passes through a remarkable ravine, which is about 300 yards long, very narrow, and the banks upon each side above twenty feet high, and so steep as to admit of no outlet but where the road passes; upon the march we were frequently challenged by the enemy from the opposite side of the river, for they observed all our movements with great vigilance. Upon our coming to the nearest ford, we found they had got a breast-work of a considerable extent upon the opposite bank. On our side of the river there was an open spot of ground with a house in the middle of it, and upon the left of this opening the road to the ford passes through the woods. Our troops were drawn up to be in readiness in case of being attacked; the 35th regiment across the road, and the light infantry upon the right along the skirts of the opening, the whole so far in the woods as to be concealed. The ford, and

the enemy's works and position, were then reconnoitred, and the company of rangers with the French deserter, were sent to reconnoitre the other ford, which is about a mile higher up. Between eight and nine there were about thirty Canadians and Indians seen going into the house, upon which there was a platoon of the 35th ordered to get through the woods between them and the river, and attack them ; just as the platoon marched off it was fired upon, and the officer wounded, by those very people who had by this time got round them into the woods, but the platoon being joined by a company of light infantry, they were soon beat back across the river. There was then an ambuscade laid in case of a second attack, which was by posting a company of light infantry on an advanced eminence near the river, in the woods below the opening ; with orders, if attacked, to retreat back along the road which would lead the enemy, if they pursued, into the fire of the battalion, and give a fair chance of cutting off their retreat with the light infantry. There were two other advantageous eminences taken possession of at the same time ; one with two companies upon our left flank, near the river, and the other with one company in the rear of the same flank, upon the right of the road. About one o'clock a detachment of 1,500 Canadians and Indians crossed the river a considerable way above the opening, and marching down unperceived under cover of its banks, got up a ravine upon the right of the advanced light infantry company mentioned. The officer commanding that company kept them in play till he called in his sentries, and then retreated according to orders : but the enemy, instead of pursuing him, as was expected along the road, endeavoured to gain the height where the two companies were posted ; when they got near it the two companies, unperceived wheeled and attacked their flank, which, being quite unexpected, they instantly turned their backs, and the light infantry coming upon their rear at the same time, they were soon driven into the river. They suffered very considerably in passing being quite open to our fire ; we did not learn the number of their killed and wounded, but the Indians were dispirited from that day's loss for the rest of the campaign. We had 55 men killed and wounded, officers included. We suffered chiefly in pursuing the enemy home to the river, from the breastworks upon the opposite banks, where their numbers, exclusive of those that attacked, amounted, as we were afterwards informed, to 2,500 men. After burying the dead, the detachment was ordered to carry off the wounded and return to camp, which was effected without molestation.

This ford is about 150 yards broad and about four feet deep ; the water is smooth and not rapid, the opposite bank is very steep and the pathway narrow. The other ford reconnoitred by the rangers is about 200 or 300 yards broad ; in passing it, there are some islands to cross in the middle of the river ; the bottom is smooth and the water is shallow, with a gentle current ; the road to it on the east side passes through a morass covered with thick wood and almost impracticable, which is probably the reason why the enemy gave so little attention to it, for they had neither men nor works there. From these fords there is another road which leads to *L'Ange Gardien*. This day two of the enemy's floating batteries were taken in the mouth of the *Chaudière* river by our boats above the town, the hands belonging to them got ashore, and escaped after having wounded some few of our men in the attack ; we had always found this kind of craft very troublesome, so that these two were no unwelcome prize, though otherwise of little value.

July 26th.—About one in the morning there was a long chain of fire rafts (*cajena*) launched from Beauport to go down the south channel, and make a second trial of burning our fleet, but ended as the former, all in show, without doing any damage ; they were towed ashore upon the Isle of Orleans.

This day there was another battery of six 24 pounders opened against the town at *Point des Pères*.

July 31st.—There was a decent made upon the coast of *Beauport*, about three quarters of a mile above the mouth of the *Montmorenci*, the particulars of which were as follows : about ten in the morning, being then high water, there were two vessels run aground where the descent was intended, mounting 14 guns each. They had on board three companies of grenadiers, two engineers, a detachment of artillery, two field pieces, 1,000 intrenching tools, with some fascines and pickets : they were to have been placed so as to make their fire bear upon the westernmost of the two redoubts, next the Falls, which was to have been first attacked. The *Centurion*, a 60-gun ship, went soon afterwards down the north channel, and was to have been placed so as to make her fire bear upon the easternmost of these two redoubts, to prevent its annoying two brigades that were to ford across the mouth of the *Montmorenci* at low water to join the attack ; but all the three were placed to some disad-

vantage ; the sternmost vessel was too far from her object, and the easternmost, though near enough, lay too obliquely, heeled from her fire, when the tide fell, and was raked fore and aft by the easternmost redoubt, and the Centurion had dropped down at least 500 yards too far ; they, however, fired as fast as their guns would allow, and were joined by our artillery from Montmorency camp.

The landing was to have been in the following order :—the grenadiers on board the vessels commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, the rest of the grenadiers of the army from the Point of Orleans, and four pickets of the 2nd battalion of the Royal Americans from Montmorenci, commanded by Colonel Burton, were to make the first attack ; they were to be sustained by Amherst and Frazer's from Point Levy, commanded by Brigadier-General Monckton, and the two brigades from Montmorenci, commanded by Brigadier-Generals Townshend and Murray, were to sustain the whole.

The pickets from Montmorenci, and the troops from Orleans and Point Levy, were in their boats about eleven o'clock, the tide then beginning to fall ; when they had got about to midchannel, there came orders, to keep plying upon their oars, it being too early in the tide for the brigades from Montmorenci to cross the ford. The enemy's batteries playing now very warmly upon the armed vessels, it was considered the grenadiers on board suffered to no purpose, there were boats sent therefore to take them off, with orders to join the rest. Between three and four in the afternoon there came orders for going on, in the execution of which some of the grenadiers' boats ran aground ; but the men could not land, there being too great a depth of water between them and the shore ; and as they had got within reach of the enemy's cannon, the whole were called off, but kept plying as before.

The enemy were now sufficiently apprized of our design, and had time enough to be prepared accordingly : their intrenchments upon the edge of the bank were fully manned for a considerable way, and the greatest part of the remainder of their troops under arms between the church of Beauport and the place of attack, ready to move as occasion should require ; they had kept firing all day upon our boats with both cannon and mortars, but with very little execution. About a quarter after five there came second orders for going on, which were soon executed,

though the boats were much dispersed, particularly then, as they expected no further service that day. The grenadiers and pickets landed very quickly, formed as fast as they could, but pushed forward rather too eagerly to the attack of the westernmost redoubt and battery ; they had gone but a very little way when the enemy began a close heavy fire with small arms from their intrenchments on the tops of the bank, which had an entire command of the ground where the redoubts stood ; they, however, got possession of it, but they were so much exposed to the enemy's fire, which continued very steady, that they were obliged to retreat ; this they did without firing a shot, but their order was otherwise somewhat broke ; then they began to form in the rear of the two battalions from Point Levy, which had landed immediately after them, and were then drawn up under cover of the two armed vessels. The two brigades from Montmorenci had by this time got within half a mile of us, to a place appointed, where General Townshend halted and sent for orders : every thing was now ready for a second attack, but it was thought too late, the tide was coming in, and but little daylight remaining ; the former of which circumstances must, in about an hour, cut off all possibility of a retreat by the ford, and the latter prevent our reaping any considerable advantage from a victory, if we obtained one ; it was therefore ordered that the two brigades from Montmorenci should repass the ford ; Amherst reembarked for Point Levy, the grenadiers and pickets for the Point of Orleans, and Frazer's to bring up the rear to Montmorenci camp, where the general himself went ; the movements were made with great order, though within reach of the enemy's cannon, which must have done a good deal of execution had they been well served.

There was a party of Frazer's left on board the easternmost vessel until the tide got round both her and the other, the party with the sailors and wounded on board were then withdrawn, and both the vessels set on fire, that there might be as little as possible left that could be of use to the enemy. Our loss was between 40 and 50 killed, and between 300 and 400 wounded ; of the latter were Colonel Burton and Lieutenant-Colonel Murray ; the enemy were said to have lost about 60 men by our cannon ; we fired no small arms, which, with the order of our retreat, had, as we afterwards learned, given the enemy no small opinion of the discipline of our troops.

About this time there was a *manifesto* published by the general

setting forth that such Canadians as should continue in arms after the 10th August should have their habitations burnt, and all hostilities allowable by the rules of war put in execution against them.

August 5th.—Brigadier-General Murray went up the south side of the river with the 15th regiment, four companies of light infantry, and 200 marines; he embarked on board our fleet above the town, commanded by Admiral Holmes, his whole command including the 3rd battalion of Royal Americans, which had been on board before, consisting of about 1200 men; he was to destroy a magazine at *Deschambeault*, and assist our fleet to attack that of the enemy at *Richelieu*.

August 9th.—About one this morning our carcasses set the low town on fire in two different places; by eight o'clock it was burnt to ashes, all but four or five houses. We found afterwards, by some accounts in intercepted letters, that this and the former fires mentioned had burnt 180 of the best houses in town.

August 13th.—The general gave orders for augmenting the batteries at *Point des Pères* to forty pieces of cannon; this was thought to be done either to favour a storm by water, or to do the town all possible damage if it could not be taken, which now became doubtful, as there was little or no appearance of making good a landing upon a coast naturally strong, and so thoroughly fortified and defended by such superior numbers.

August 17th.—A volunteer posted with a serjeant, corporal, and sixteen men in a house below *Montmorenci* camp, stood an attack of above 100 Canadians and Indians for near a couple of hours; succours then arriving from camp, the enemy took to their heels, and narrowly escaped being surrounded; several of them were killed, but none taken. The volunteer was by public orders appointed to the first vacant commission for his gallant behaviour.

August 23rd.—We began to burn the habitations between *St. Joachine* and the Falls of *Montmorenci*, agreeably to the *manifesto* which was lately published.

August 25th.—Brigadier-General Murray returned to the camp at *Point Levy*, with his command mentioned the 5th instant. He brought the first accounts of *Niagara*, *Carillon*, and *Crown Point* being taken. His transactions up the river were as follows:—

8th. He made two attempts to land at *Point aux Trembles*, to favour the seamen in cutting off three floating batteries which lay on the north shore. The first was made at low water, which he was informed was the most proper time, as he would have room to form on the beach out of the reach of the enemy's fire; but a landing at low water proved impracticable; there are ledges of rocks along the shore, which boats cannot pass, with gulleys and ponds of water between them and the shore, which the men could not pass without wetting their ammunition; when this attempt was made, the enemy showed about 500 men.

The second attempt was made at high water; the enemy kept pretty much concealed until we got almost ashore, and then opened with such a heavy fire of small arms that the sailors could not sit to their oars; there was a diversion made to the right to divide their fire, which in some measure answered, but it still continued too hot to face it with a landing. The numbers of the enemy were greatly increased, the woods were everywhere lined, all the houses of the village occupied, a considerable body of regulars drawn up behind the church, and a body of cavalry dismounted near the shore; these circumstances made it more than probable that the attempt, if pushed farther, would be attended with a considerable loss without any success; it was, therefore, ordered to retreat. We had about 140 men killed and wounded, including 30 seamen. The troops were immediately reembarked on board the respective ships.

The 9th, at night, an officer with a small party surprised a party of twenty-five Canadians, on the south shore; he took five prisoners, and killed and wounded several more, without any loss on our side.

The 10th, in the morning, the whole detachment landed on the south shore, in the parish of St. Antoine; the landing was opposed by about 150 Canadians and 50 Indians, who were soon driven off; there were several of them killed and wounded. The whole detachment encamped here upon a spot of ground above the church. 12th. There was a detachment of 400 men, under the command of Major Dalling, ordered to go at one next morning and surprise the back concession of St. Antoine; they were fired upon before daybreak, and had a captain and four men wounded by some of the inhabitants, who went off immediately after, upon which there was a paper put upon the church door to acquaint them, that since they had fired several times upon our troops, notwithstanding General

Wolfe's manifesto, all the houses in the parish should be burnt; that the church only should be saved, but should undergo the same fate if they continued to make signals from it. The houses were accordingly burnt that day and the day following. 17th. About eight o'clock at night the land troops reembarked, the marines remained in camp, in a strong redoubt, with orders to make the usual number of fires that night, and make all the show they could next day. About eleven the troops set out in the flat-bottomed boats for *Deschambeault*, which is eight leagues higher up the north shore. About an hour after daybreak next morning they landed without opposition at *Portneuf*, which is a league below, then marched on and took possession of the magazine, and having posted a party there with orders to touch nothing on pain of death, marched forward and took possession of the church, which is a little higher up: upon a movement of the light infantry to surround a small party of the enemy, that seemed disposed to dispute the way to the church, they went off without firing a shot.

The magazine was now examined, and being found to consist of nothing but military stores and baggage, was set on fire; whilst it continued burning there were above fifty different explosions of powder, by which two neighbouring houses, not intended to be burnt, were set on fire. We reembarked about six in the evening, without the loss of a man, though fired at all day, the difference of our arms kept the enemy at too great a distance to hurt us. After embarking, there were two boats of Amherst's and two floating batteries taken from the enemy some time ago, sent to burn a brigantine belonging to the enemy, which lay between us and their ships; the general himself went through the rapids to see the affair executed. Upon the approach of our boats, the sailors in the brigantine ran her aground and abandoned her; our boats set her on fire soon afterwards, and attended until she lay dry and burnt down. Their ships made no attempt to save her, though it was thought they might do it without risk, for they lay only three miles above her. The attack upon the enemy's shipping, which was one of the designs of this expedition, was laid aside, our sea officers having found difficulties that must prevent our ships from getting so high up. General Murray, therefore, with his command, returned as already mentioned, but left the 3rd battalion of Royal Americans on board the fleet, where he found them.

August 28th.—About one this morning the *Leostaff* frigate and some

more vessels passed above the town. There was a battery of eight 12-pounders opened this day, at *Pointe des Pères*.

August 31st.—This night the *Sea Horse* frigate and four transports passed above the town.

September 3rd.—The general decamped from Montmorenci this day about noon, the redoubts, batteries, and other works were set on fire last night and this morning. It was expected that the enemy, who for some days past must have seen our operations for leaving it, would have attacked our retreat, but they made no attempt that way. The general hoped they would, and laid a trap for that purpose, which did not take. He ordered the several corps to their alarm posts, during the night, and to conceal themselves after daylight, excepting a few guards who were to appear very alert. But Monsieur Montcalm, the French general, contrary to the opinion of his officers, saw something about the camp which gave him a suspicion of the affair, which made him decline an attempt; a few hours discovered that his suspicion was just, but it was a pretty general opinion that he might have made an attempt to great advantage at all events.

The fortifying of this camp and bringing so many pieces of artillery to it, was a work of great labour; there were about fifty pieces there at the same time, and though there was no loss of men in taking or leaving the place, yet during our stay we suffered a good deal. Our fascine and covering parties were frequently attacked, and though we always repulsed the enemy, yet seldom without some little loss, which in the end amounted to a pretty considerable number. These skirmishes had indeed the good effect of using our men to the woods, and familiarizing them with the Canadians and Indians, whom they soon began to despise.

The general ordered the troops from this camp to encamp along the road in the rear of the batteries at *Point des Pères*, excepting the 2nd battalion of Royal Americans, which was left at the Point of Orleans. He fixed his head-quarters at Point Levy.

September 4th.—Despatches from General Amherst, by an officer and four rangers, brought a confirmation of the taking Niagara, Carillon and Crown Point.

September 5th.—This evening Brigadier-General Murray went up the

south side of the river from *Point Levy* camp with four battalions, and embarked between the *Etchemins* and *Chaudiere* rivers, on board our fleet then laying off that place. This fleet consisted of the *Sutherland* of 60 guns, the *Leostaff*, *Sea Horse*, and *Squirrel* frigates, and the *Hunter* sloop, with two or three small armed vessels and some transports, the whole under the command of Admiral Holmes.

This afternoon Brigadier-Generals Monkton and Townsend with three battalions marched from Point Levy, and embarked in the same place that General Murray did the night before, between the *Etchemins* and *Chaudiere* rivers. The general followed in the evening and embarked likewise; he left the 2nd battalion of Royal Americans and some marines, under the command of Colonel Carleton, to keep the post at the Point of Orleans; he left the 48th regiment, some small detachments of other corps, and some marines, under the command of Colonel Burton, to keep the batteries at Point des Pères, and the camp at Point Levy.

September 7th.—Early this morning the fleet moved up to *Cape Rouge*, and in the evening the general having reconnoitred the coast, fixed upon a place a little below *Pointe aux Trembles*, for making a descent, but the weather not proving favourable at the time ordered, which was the 9th, in the morning, it was put off; and the troops being so much crowded on board the transports, were that evening landed at St. Nicholas, on the south side, for air and exercise. The general, on the same day, found out another place more to his mind, and laid aside all further thoughts of that at *Pointe aux Trembles*.

September 10th.—The general carried Admiral Holmes, Brigadier-Generals Monkton and Townshend, with some other officers, to reconnoitre the place he had fixed upon. Brigadier-General Murray was left ashore with the command of the troops at St. Nicholas. The place is called Toulon; they reconnoitred it from a rising on the south side of the river, below the mouth of the *Etchemins* river, from whence there was a fair view, not only of the place itself, but likewise of a considerable part of the ground between it and the town, which is a mile and half below: as the place is laid down upon the plan, it requires little or no description, but it must be observed that the bank which runs along the shore is very steep and woody, and was thought so impracticable by the French themselves, that they had then only a single picket to defend it. This

picket, which we supposed might be about 100 men, was encamped upon the bank near the top of a narrow path which runs up from the shore ; this path was broke by the enemy themselves, and barricaded with an abattis, but about 200 yards to the right there appeared to be a slope in the bank, which was thought might answer the purpose. These circumstances and the distance of the place from succours seemed to promise a fair chance of success.

September 11th.—There were orders for the troops ashore to embark to-morrow morning, and for the whole to hold themselves in readiness to land upon the 13th, before daybreak.

The first landing was to consist of 400 light infantry, under the command of Colonel Howe, and 1300 of the regiments of Bragg, Kenedy, Anstruther, Lascelles, and a detachment of Frazer's under the command of Generals Monkton and Murray, both commands amounting to 1700 men, which was the number our boats landed at one trip.

The ships that had the troops of the second landing on board were to follow the boats, and anchor as near the landing place as they could ; they consisted of three frigates, a man-of-war sloop, three armed vessels, and two transports ; they were to be followed by some ordnance vessels with intrenching tools, artillery, and ammunition. The second landing was to consist of Amherst's Louisbourg Grenadiers, the remainder of Frazer's, a detachment of light infantry, the 3rd battalion of Royal Americans, and Otway's ; the whole amounting to 1910 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Townshend.

September 12th.—The troops who had been ashore reembarked in consequence of yesterday's orders, and everything prepared to go on with the business of the day following. There were injunctions given both men and officers very suitable to the occasion, and the sea officers who were to conduct the boats and vessels in the landing were likewise thoroughly instructed in their part of that duty.

Our fleet still continued at anchor off Cape Rouge, which is about six miles above Toulon, the Hunter sloop lay about two-thirds of the way farther down. The enemy had a body of between 2000 and 3000 men, including 230 horse, under the command of Monsieur Bougainville, a brevet-colonel, posted from Cape Rouge river along the coast towards

Pointe aux Trembles, to watch our motions and to oppose our making a descent at these places, which they expected to have been our design. They had some batteaux with cannon in the mouth of that river, and a sloop run a little way up, so that they wanted no advantage for making an immediate discovery of every step we could take, whether by night or day.

September 13th.—Between two and three in the morning our boats began to be in motion, dropping down with the tide in the order they were to land, mentioned before, and as silently as they could.

Admiral Holmes hoisted his flag on board of one of the frigates, and followed with the shipping in the same manner, the whole seemingly unobserved by the enemy. In our way down, a captain of light infantry in one of the headmost boats discovered by accident, from the Hunter sloop, that the enemy expected some boats that night down the river with provisions, and availing himself of the discovery, passed several of the enemy's sentries as such, by which means the light infantry had actually landed without being once fired at. The battalions under Brigadier-Generals Monkton and Murray landed immediately after them, and then the enemy's picket took the alarm and began to fire. Three companies of light infantry were immediately ordered to get up the bank to the right of the pathway, as they could, and to give a signal when they got up, upon which the remainder of the light infantry were to force the pathway, and attack the picket in front; but after a little firing, that picket was dispersed by these three companies only, the captain was wounded, and with about half his picket taken prisoners; the remainder made their escape along the edge of the bank towards the town, and with some small flying parties posted there kept firing upon some of our boats, which had by mistake dropped down too far that way, where the general was obliged to follow in his own boat to order them back. The battalions were formed upon the beach, as they landed, and now began to get up the bank and form above. The light infantry was disposed of, some in the woods upon our left flank, to cover that side, and others to scour the face of the bank towards the town.

The general being now landed gave orders to despatch the getting up of some troops still remaining below, and a guard being left to cover the remainder of the landing, got up the bank about clear daylight; very soon after his getting up, a picket of the battalion of Guiana appeared

upon a rising ground at some little distance above us, but finding they were too late they retired without making any attempt.

By some accounts that we had afterwards the whole battalion was to have come upon this ground the night before, but by some lucky incident deferred it ; some say they were detained by the French general himself, upon receiving intelligence by a deserter that there was a descent to be made that night upon the coast of Beauport. All the troops of the first landing being now got upon the top of the bank, the first step taken was the attack of a battery of four pieces of cannon, which the enemy had at a place called *Samosse*, about a mile and a half above, near *Sillery*. This battery began to play about daybreak, and must have annoyed both boats and shipping a good deal, particularly those of the second landing.

Brigadier-General Murray, with the 58th regiment, and light infantry under the command of Colonel Howe, was immediately sent to surround it, with two deserters as guides. Brigadier-General Murray followed with the 58th regiment, to the skirts of the woods, where he took post across the road leading to the battery.

The main body of the first landing was now marched up to the top of the height called the *Hauteur d'Abraham*, which forms a plain. They found some of the enemy in a house, and some Indians skulking in a coppice hard by ; there was a detachment of grenadiers sent to beat them off, which, after exchanging a few shots, they effected ; then the whole were drawn up with the right to the town, facing the St. Louis road. They remained but a short time in this position, when the general from an eminence upon the right, discovered the enemy assembling upon the rising ground between him and the town, and observing their numbers increase he altered the position of his line and faced towards them. He sent for Brigadier-General Murray to return and join him with the 58th regiment, and for Colonel Howe, with the light infantry, to come and cover his rear. The order soon reached General Murray, who immediately came, but the light infantry having gone forward, the officer who carried the order followed them to the battery with a platoon of grenadiers, and falling upon a short cut got there before them.

The enemy fired a gun at him, with a volley of small arms, which he returned, and the light infantry coming up just at the time, the enemy abandoned their battery without making any further resistance. Colonel

Howe, upon receiving the order, immediately returned with his whole command, but the general finding he had been master of the battery, sent back a detachment of light infantry to keep possession of it.

Both armies had now become pretty numerous, ours by our second landing, which by this time had joined us, and theirs by their troops from Beauport, which were coming up very fast.

In the interval between the two armies there were some clumps of high brush, the cover of which brought on a skirmishing, which was warmly kept up on both sides while the troops were assembling and the dispositions making. When the line was nearly completed, there began a slight cannonading with small field-pieces, the enemy with one in their line, and we with two in ours; the 48th regiment and 2nd battalion of Royal Americans, who had marched up to the opposite shore and crossed over, were the last that joined us; they came about eight o'clock, and our line and disposition were completed very soon afterwards, which stood as follows, (vide plan). Our line, consisting of the three companies of Louisbourg grenadiers and six battalions, faced the enemy's line; the right was commanded by Brigadier-General Monckton, and the left by Brigadier-General Murray. The corps were commanded as follows, viz. :—the Louisbourg grenadiers, by Lieutenant-Colonel Murray; the 35th, by Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher; the 28th, by Colonel Walsh; the 43rd, by Major Elliott; the 47th, by Lieutenant-Colonel Hale; the 63rd and 78th, by Captain Campbell; and the 58th, by Major Agnew. The rear of our left was covered by two battalions commanded by Brigadier-General Townshend, which faced the enemy's irregulars upon that side; these two battalions were, the 15th, commanded by Major Irwing, and the 2nd battalion of Royal Americans, commanded by Captain Oswald. The 48th regiment, commanded by Colonel Burton (scarce recovered of his wound), formed a body of reserve in the rear of the right; our light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe, covered our rear, and the 3rd battalion of Royal Americans, commanded by Colonel Young, covered the landing place. The general moved about everywhere, but after the action began kept on a rising ground where our right stood, from whence he had a view of the whole field. The enemy's line was completed soon after ours; it consisted of five battalions of regulars in the centre, and of three battalions of colony troops upon the right and left; their irregulars, consisting of Canadians and Indians, were dispersed in flying parties

upon our flanks, particularly our left, where they were pretty numerous, and before the main body charged made some faint advances, as if they meant to attack ; but General Townshend having ordered two pickets of the 15th to advance by turn and fire upon them, they afterwards kept only popping at a distance. The enemy's general officers were Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Montcalm, and Brigadier-General Senezergues, lieutenant-colonel of La Sarre.

The French line began moving up to the charge about nine o'clock, advancing briskly, and for some little time in good order ; their front began to fire before they got within reach, and immediately followed throughout the whole in a wild scattering manner ; they then began to waver, but continued advancing with the same disorderly fire ; when they were within 100 yards of us, our line moved up regularly with a steady fire, and when within 20 or 30 yards of closing, gave a general one, upon which the enemy's whole line turned their backs from right to left in the same instant ; they were by ten o'clock pursued within musket shot of their walls, and scarce looked behind till they had got within them.

Their irregulars upon our left moved towards the town when their line gave way, but still maintained their ground along the bank upon that side, and being favoured by the coppice and brush, kept up a continual firing.

Brigadier-General Murray, who, with Frazer's battalion of Highlanders, the 78th, had pursued within musket shot of St. Ursule bastion, being informed that all the other generals were wounded, and the enemy having totally disappeared, was now returning back to the field of battle, and hearing the fire of the irregulars still continue, ordered that battalion to go and beat them off ; a hot skirmish ensued, in which the Highlanders suffered a good deal, but being at length joined by some of the 58th regiment, and of the 2nd battalion of Royal Americans, they drove the irregulars into the suburbs of St. Rocks, and from thence towards the bridge of St. Charles, where the main body, after having passed through the town to mask their retreat, were still crossing in great confusion ; we then became sole masters of the field ; our loss, though not great in numbers, was considerable.

Our general was mortally wounded when the affair had almost come

to a crisis, and lived only long enough to know that he should die victorious. Brigadier-General Monkton received a severe wound soon after him, and was carried off. We had more killed and wounded in the skirmishing than in the general action. Of this number was Colonel Carleton, who received a bad wound, and was carried off before the enemy began to charge.

Our loss upon the whole was 9 officers killed, and 55 wounded; 49 non-commissioned officers and private men killed, and 542 wounded.

The enemy's loss exceeded ours in numbers; the Marquis of Montcalm was mortally wounded, and Brigadier-General Senezergues, with about 200 officers and men, lay dead upon the field. We took 13 officers and about 330 men prisoners; the number of their wounded we could not exactly find out, but from what we could learn must have been above 1000 or 1200 men.

The command now fell to Brigadier-General Townshend, who was said by mistake to be wounded, in place of Colonel Carleton.

Soon after the action a party of the enemy attempted to take the battery at Namonne, but were repulsed with some loss.

Between twelve and one o'clock there appeared a considerable body of the enemy upon the St. Fole road, in the rear of our left, which we soon learned to be M. Bougainville's command, whom we left in the morning at *Cape Rouge*. Upon his finding that the main point was already decided, and seeing some of our battalions in motion, and our artillery advancing towards him, he withdrew. The party that attacked the battery at Namonne had been detached from him upon their march. In the afternoon we began to raise redoubts in the front, and upon the flanks of our camp; we lay that night under arms, and sent a detachment to take possession of the General Hospital, and such of the enemy as were wounded that day, and lay there, were made prisoners, the hospital being considered as a part of the field of battle.

Sundays 14th and 15th.—These two days were taken up in fortifying our camp, landing our artillery and stores, and providing fascines and pickets for carrying on the works of the siege.

Colonel Burton, Colonel Frazer, just recovered of a wound, and Colonel Walsh, were appointed to act as brigadiers.

September 16th.—At night there was a redoubt begun about 400 yards from the works, to cover a battery to be erected against the bastion of St. Ursule.

September 17th.—In the afternoon there were proposals sent out for a capitulation, and the weather being very wet, there were no works carried on that night. The army at Beauport had now almost totally disappeared; they stole marches from night to night to go up the country by way of *Lorette*, but left a strong guard in the Tête de Pont of St. Charles, to prevent our passing that way to attack them. They left most of their tents standing, all their artillery along that coast, and a considerable quantity of provisions, which was plundered and carried off by the country inhabitants.

September 18th.—In the morning the capitulation agreed upon was drawn up and signed. The following is a translation of it from the French. (1)

The same evening we took possession of the town with some companies of grenadiers, who took the guards agreed upon, to prevent irregularities, and mounted such others as were judged necessary for the security of the place. There were two battalions brought into the town, the barracks not being in a condition to receive any more for the present.

We found the buildings in general in a most ruinous condition, infinitely worse than we could have imagined; for, besides those burnt, there was hardly a house in the town that was not hurt by either shot or shells, and scarce habitable without some repairing.

The fortifications, which consisted of only the fronts towards the land, were little more than half finished, and could have held out but for a very few days after opening our batterie; for there being neither ditch, covered way, nor outworks, the scarp-wall was seen in many places from the top of the parapet to the foundation. The inside was

A fac-simile of the act of capitulation is given as an illustration in Vol. iii. A translation is given in Townshend's Journal, Vol. IV.

equally imperfect, and its defence in many places impracticable even for small arms.

There were found in town and along the coast of Beauport, 234 pieces of cannon, 17 mortars, and 4 howitzers, brass and iron of all sorts included, 604 barrels of powder, 14,800 round shot, 1500 shells, 3000 muskets with bayonets, and 70 tons of musket shot, with a good many other articles of less value.

There remained but a small quantity of provisions, scarcely enough to serve the garrison for four days, and that was distributed to the women and children of the poorer inhabitants. The reason of this want was, that the enemy never had above a fortnight's provisions in the garrison at a time, lest they might be burnt, but were supplied from above, and from the army at Beauport, as occasions required. This want was undoubtedly one of the principal causes of their sudden capitulation, for they had but little hopes of its being supplied.

The number that carried arms in the town at the capitulation was about 2500 men ; of these there were about 1800 regulars, marines, and sailors sent to France, the remainder continued in the country in terms of the capitulation.

The enemy's loss of men in town during the siege amounted to about 100. Their expense of ammunition must have been inconsiderable, for their fire upon our batteries at *Point des Pères* was faint, and their fire upon our works upon the *Hauteur d'Abraham* was but of a few days' continuance, which, with the small quantity found in town, especially of powder, makes it probable that there is no great plenty of ammunition in the country.

Our loss of men and expense of ammunition during the whole campaign stood as follows :—

<i>Loss of Men.</i>		<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Officers				
Non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates		18	107	125
		252	1116	1368
Total . . .		270	1223	1493

<i>Expense of Ammunition.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Round Shot	32-pounders	18,000
	24 do.	18,350
	12 do.	1,000
	6 do. with wooden bottoms . . .	400
Shells . . .	13-inch	3,000
	10 do.	2,300
	8 do.	1,000
	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 $\frac{3}{5}$
Powder, barrels		3,880
Musket Shot, tons

Brigadier-General Monkton, being a good deal recovered of his wound, resumed the command.

The advanced season of the year, which must oblige our fleet to depart soon, and the work that must be done to accommodate and secure ourselves for the winter, rendered it now impracticable to continue the operations of the campaign any longer; there were so many difficulties to struggle with, that it was thought doubtful by some which might be most advisable—to keep the place, or to demolish and abandon it. Lodging and securing our provisions, repairing barracks and quarters, improving and securing our works against assaults and surprises, and

providing a sufficiency of fuel for the winter, were all of them works of great labour, and almost equally pressing ; but the advantage that must arise from keeping the place, whether peace or war, indeed, and a confidence in our troops, who were now thoroughly insured to fatigue and danger, made the doubts upon that head soon vanish : it was therefore determined to keep the place at all hazards, and measures were taken accordingly ; there was a staff appointed, and such works as required the most immediate attention were entered upon without delay. Brigadier-General Murray was appointed governor, and Colonel Burton lieutenant-governor, with such other staff-officers as are usual in British garrisons.

(Signed)

P. M.

Quebec, 30th September, 1759.

LETTER OF CAPT. SCHOMBERG

TO

ADM. FORBES

Boston Sept. 5, 1759.

Sir,

It is probable that the Letters which I wrote to you from the River have not yet come to your hand. I therefore send this by a merchant man which is this morning going to run it for England.

I am just arrived and left the Fleet and Army the 11th of August. The Admiral and General were continuing their operations, and every thing was *going on*.

The Enemy is entrenched from the River Charles to the Fall of Montmorency, and Gen. Wolfe has taken post on the Eastern side of the Fall. Brigadier Monckton is encamped on the point Levi side, and with his Batteries about 1200 yards from the Lower Town, he has done much mischief both to the upper and lower town of Quebec. The Sutherland and Squirrel are both above the Town. I was attempting to pass it July the 19th at night, by the Admiral's direction, but a Sloop most unfortunately ran me on board, and I could not disengage myself from her 'till I was forced into an Eddy tide, which carried me on the Rocks. I was but barely out of Gun-shot from Quebec, which occasioned the sending the Floating Batteries out to insult us; However they did not prevent our working nor did they do us any material mischief, but had they been more enterprizing I think they might *at first* have destroyed us, for we lay with our Garboard streak exposed.

The wind is westerly and I must dispatch my letter.

Aug: 1st. a Descent was made at the Entrenchments of *Beaufort*, but it was ineffectual. As my ship was hors de Campagne I had offered myself for any service if the Admiral thought I could be usefull, and he gave me the landing of Monkton's Brigade. The Fire was very extraordinary, nor did I imagine that the Fire of Musquetry could have been kept up so uninterruptedly, and do so little damage; the Enemy's being above us can only account for it. We lost about 50, and I guess about 200 wounded: I have mislaid the return, but I think that was the number.

On the retreat our Troops were very regular, and retired across the Falls and to the Boats with a sullen pride, and in good order: The general thinks in better order than when they first got on shore, and he taxes his grenadiers with too much ardour. I can write no more of this day. In short, Sir, the Enemy's situation is very advantageous, and his numbers very superior. Gen. Wolfe appears in his Conduct more like *Fulvius maximus* than *Achilles*, notwithstanding what has been said of his impetuosity by his Enemies and Rivals.

When refitted I shall take upon me the charge of the mast ships, and conduct them to England.

I am, Sir, with great Respect,

&c &c,

ALEXANDER SCHOMBERG.

Endorsed by Lord Hardwicke

" Boston, Sept 5th 1759

" From capt. Schomberg "

" Genl Wolfe's Expedition against Quebec "

LETTER OF JAMES GIBSON

JAMES GIBSON,

To GOVERNOR LAWRENCE.

Bazon of Quebec, 1st Aug 1759

Sir,

Agreeable to your request, which will ever have the force of a command with me, I take is the earliest opportunity of communicating every material occurrence which has hitherto happen'd. I can think of no way more descriptive than journalizing and therefore I shall follow it with great punctuality.

After sailing from Mauger's Beach which was on the 5th of May, the Wind prov'd favorable till the 16th, when we made Cape Ferillon, one of the points of land which forms Gaspey Bay ; in our Way thither we took a sloop from Cape Francois for Quebec laden with sugar and spirits.

On the eve of the same day we committed to old Neptune's care the body of the martial and puissant Simcoe of the Pembroke. Wheellocke at present succeeds him. I should tell you, Sir, that we met with but little Ice, which was so broken as to be rather troublesome than obstructive.

What we did see was between Halifax and Louisbourg : after entering the River all was clear and mild.

Near the Isle of Bik we took a small sloop, 6 days from Quebec, who gave us the disagreeable news of the arrival of many transports and some Frigates from Old France, which they left early in March and were deeply loaded with provisions and warlike stores. Had we sailed at the

time you so earnestly wished, we had most certainly intercepted 'em, as they were not more than 10 days before us.

On the 27 we all safely anchor'd between Coudre Isle and the main.

The River, in general, is fine; and the land which you see on each side, for the greatest part of the way, makes it an entertaining navigation. The prospect, now before us, is so elegant, that I can't avoid an attempt to describe it.

On the North shore, between Goose Cape and Cape Torment, there are, towering among the clouds, the most noble and awful ridges of mountains that I ever saw: they give one a highly finish'd image of the Grandeur and rude magnificence of Nature. At the bottom of them, opposite to the East end of Coudre, and near to the Shore, are a few straggling houses prettily disposed among the covert. The inhabitants have clear'd and levelled some few spots around their dwellings, which form a delightful Terrass.

Immediately on seeing this delicate spot, there occur'd to me a passage in Virgil, which, from not recollecting the original I give you in Dryden's words.

Within a long recess there lies a Bay
An Island shades it from the rolling sea,
And forms a Port, secure for ships to ride,
Broke by the jutting land on either side.

A sylvan scene
Appears above, and groves forever green;
Down through the crannies of the living walls
The crystal streams descend in murm'ring Falls.

To Justify this quotation it is proper I shou'd add that those mountainous woods are cover'd with ever greens of every genus and finely and frequently water'd; and in the Valleys between the ridges are surprizing cascades from whence

Both ears and eyes receive a like delight
Enchanting music and a charming sight.

Just in the bosom of the Bason and in the centre of a group of venerable Weymouth Pines there stands a white Chappel call'd St. Paul's; the Church and the Parish it belongs to take their name from the Bay.

Believe me, Sir, that altogether, it makes a most pleasing Eye Trap.

Immediately after anchoring Col. Carlton landed a party of Light Infantry on Coudre to secure the inhabitants and their effects ; but after a diligent search and examining about 100 Houses, they found neither property nor possessions ; who must have been hasty in their flight as we found fire in some of their chimneys and bread in their ovens newly bak'd.

After some few days I went ashore where I was highly pleased with the prospects and marks of industry that were everywhere conspicuous : for altho' the whole island had been cover'd with trees growing as thick as the hands of nature could plant 'em and many of 'em almost too large to be moved by art, yet there are some hundreds of acres of ground clear'd plow'd and Sow'd ; mostly with English wheat ; and by the stubble of last year I found their crop had been pretty considerable, as indeed the present seems to promise : and was their knowledge in husbandry equal to their apparent diligence, I cannot but think that they wou'd have a valuable produce. Nor is Coudre only the residence of praiseworthy industry : her footsteps are to be traced in every practicable spot of the country where we now are.

On the 8th of June 2 midshipn : belonging to Adl. Durell were taken off from Coudre Isle ; notwithstanding Majr. Agnew's diligence and precaution, who then commanded there.

We imagine some Indians or Canadians came in the night from the main in their canoes and conceal'd themselves in the woods till opportunity shou'd favour their Errand, which unluckily happen'd Early this morning ; for, under the sanction of a thick fog they executed their scheme on the 3 said young gent'n. We concluded they were hurry'd away to Quebec and would give such information as otherwise the Enemy wou'd scarcely come at. In the afternoon of the same day the Devonshire, Centurion, Pembroke, Squirrel, with C. Carlton and the greatest part of the troops, went higher up the River, and anchor'd near the East end of the Island of Orleans, where they exchang'd a few shot with a small Battery the Enemy had on the shore, but with no loss. On the 9th the Alcide and Stirling Castle join'd us ; they took two store ships in their way.

12th.—Sutherland join'd us, but had had no success. The account

which the Alcide brought of the favourable passage of the whole fleet had met with from Halifax to Louisbourg and of the Arrival of the Troops at the same place filled each coming hour with pleasing expectation of seeing them soon. In this pleasing dreadful situation were we till the 23rd when, at dawn of day, the Richmond, whom Mr. Durell, some days before, had detach'd to look for Adl' Saunders, brought Genl. Wolfe and news of the whole Armaments being within a few leagues of us, separated into 3 divisions ; the first of which, with Genl. Wolfe, Alcide, and Sutherland, went on with us in the evening ; on the 24th they got under sail for the said place, with Ad. Saunders, who, pro-tempore, hoisted his Flag on Bd. the Sterling Castle. Their Absence was soon replaced by the third Squadron, whom contrary winds detain'd with us till the 26th, when they moved onward for their Consorts.

On the 28th the Adm. sent for the Vanguard, Shrewsbury, Capt. Medway and all the marines ; but a foul wind prevented our sailing till the 2nd of July, when we got under way and on the 8th anchor'd off the East end of Orleans, where we saw at a great distance, some few shells burst in the air and heard the noise of Cannon : "The din of war, the noble clank of arms ".

We found Gen. Wolfe encamp'd on one side of Montmorency Falls and the French on the other. As a sketch of their situation may be more communicative than description, I send you one relying on your Candour to overlook any imperfection ; as I flatter myself you will willingly do, when I tell you I never attempted anything of the kind till since I'd the pleasure of seeing you : and moreover I assure you it's just.

On the 13th I'd the honour of dining with Brig. Monckton, encamp'd with his Brigade on Point-Levis. In the Evening, before I left him, a Battery of 6 24 Prs and 5 Mortars was open'd agst. Quebec.

Our Light Infantry have frequent skirmishes with Indians and Canadians with trifling losses on each side : in general we suffer most.

July 18th.—The Sutherland and Squirrel, under Favour of a dark night and Brisk breeze, ran up between Town and Pt. Levi and anchor'd as per plan : they paid her the compliment of many guns, without doing her any injury. The Diana attempted the same, but ran ashore on Levi side and recd. such damage as obliges her to come to Boston for assist-

ance and has given me the opportunity of keeping my word as this comes by her.

We frequently set their town on fire, have burnt down the large Church, with many other buildings : but I can't learn that we hurt their Batteries and therefore Individuals Suffer rather than the Common Cause ; and indeed I fear the campaign will end so.

20th.—Within the space of 5 hours we recd. at the generals request, 3 different Orders of consequence, which were contradicted immediately after their reception ; which indeed has been the constant Practice of the Gen. ever since we have been here to the no small amazement of everyone who has the liberty of thinking. Every step he takes is wholly his own ; I'm told he asks no one's opinion, and wants no advice ; and therefore as he conducts without an assistant, the Honor or——will be in proportion to his success.

22nd.—The Gen. with a party of Highlanders and Rl Americans were conducted by one Stobo (whom you have undoubtedly heard is now among us) to a place called Point au Tremble, 7 leagues up the River, where they found about 200 women and children, who had retired thither from Quebec ; the principal of whom the Genl. brought off and sent 'em to the town, from whence we suppose they immediatly departed and 6 hours were returned to the place where he had brought them from. We conclude he had some particular reason for this Candour, tho' to all here, it appears mighty mysterious. Our troops soon drove off some Indians who opposed their landing. Major Prevost who commanded the party, recd. a wound, just above his left temple, which has ever since threatened his destruction. Mr. Roberts told me yesterday that his symptoms were now more favourable than expected and that there was some hopes of his recovery.

Some few days after 303 men, Women and children were brought from a place called St Laurent, and near 300 head of cattle ; those were not returned, but are kept on board Transports, till further Orders. We have lost some officers and men & many wounded in skirmishes of the like kind ; among the latter Colonel Frazer may be reckon'd, who recd. a ball in his Thigh : He 's in a fair way of recovery.

27th.—At 11 at night I was hugely alarmed with a most dreadful

AP. II—5

sight. The Enemy had link'd together 100 Fire stages, which spread full 400 yards in length, and as the evening was dark, tow'd 'em undiscovered towards the centre of the fleet, & set fire to 'em. We had intelligence that some such infernal scheme was intended, and therefore were prepar'd against it; and with our own boats we grappled and led them thro' the whole fleet without loosing or even hurting a man. One Transport, by the Imprudence and obstinacy of the commander, took fire which was soon extinguish'd without suffering any considerable damage. Before we joined the Admiral & immediatly after his arrival in their Bason they sent down 7 Fireships having the advantage of a leading breeze & strong current; but by timely assistance and the former method we met with the like success.

Thus, Sir, scarce a day passes without its dangers: but most of them are too trifling to be communicated. Our outposts are frequently attacked by the Indians, who hurt us much. Some few deserters have left us, mostly of the Volontaires Etrangeres, and some few are come in, from whom we learn little to be pleas'd with. We find ourselves outnumbered and we fear, out general'd, Our troops are healthy and brave to a proverb: which their Behaviour on the 31st will sufficiently evince.

Know then, Sir, that the General determin'd to attack the Enemy in their Breast works: the 31st was fixed on; and as there were two small batteries, that it was necessary shoul'd be silenc'd first, the Admiral fitted out a large Cat, ran them ashore as high as possible & after 6 hours canonading enfeebl'd, tho' not wholly demolish'd them.

The Grenadiers, who, some evenings before, were landed on Orleans, embark'd from thence at 10 in the morn'g: Genl. Monckton's Brigade did the same from Pt. Levi; at about the same time, & the remainder of the Army at Montmorency got under arms some little time after; the Centurion cover'd the attack, At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 in the afternoon the grenadrs. & Genl. Monckton's Brigade landed, after having been expos'd to the heat of the Sun & a furious Canonading from the Enemy for 7 hours & $\frac{1}{2}$.

Providence never show'd herself more conspicuous than on this occasion: for tho' they were the whole time within reach of their cannon and mortars, who did not let slip a minutes opportunity to annoy them, yet, amidst the number of shells that were thrown, very little mischief was done; not even one dropping in a boat, which is as much as I can

say, since numbers fell so near as made it difficult for me, who was on an eminence at the distance of about a mile, to determine whether they hit or miss'd 'em.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 the Grenaders landed, formed instantly, and headed by Col. Murray, marched for a Battery and Redoubt which they took possession of. Genl. Monckton, in the meantime landed and formed, the troops from Montmorency under Brigs Murray and Townsend, were passing at the bottom of the Falls of Do. to join the whole. As soon as the Grens were within musket shot the French began from their Breast Works, and the Indians from the adjacent woods, such a fire as none, but the very men who were there, could have withstood; & which they sustain'd without returning a musket for 20 minutes, when there luckily came on such a thunder storm and shower as made it impossible for them to advance; & the number of the wounded, more particularly officers, made it necessary for them to retreat; which they did as regularly and soldierlike as they advanc'd, at least we generally think so here, notwithstanding the cruel aspersion which the enclos'd paper threw on them 2 days after the action, and which has disgusted every man who was an eye witness of such gallantry as, perhaps, is not to be parallell'd.

One Matheson a Lieut. of Lascelles's, was the only officer kill'd; and one Capt. Onchterlony of the Rl. Americans the only officer taken prisoner after being desperately wounded.

Scarcely one Genr. Officer came off unhurt many of 'em are cureable. The very situation of the Breast work, which is on the verge of a quick and long ascent, wou'd have been a Barrier against any assailant; but when lin'd crowded with an un-number'd Host of Troops, the attempt was, I had almost said, impracticable; which some Genl Officers scarcely hesitate to say.

One of them of Knowledge, Fortune and Interest I have heard has declar'd the attack *then* and *there*, was contrary to the advice and opinion of every officer; and when things are come to this, you'l judge what the event may be!

I shou'd not venture to express myself so freely was I not persuaded of your Tenacity; and as I promis'd to be particular, thought it a duty to perform it. We imagine here that near 500 are kill'd, missing and

wounded, since our first arrival and we have not gain'd as I can perceive, any considerable advantage.

My next shall begin from the day that this ends, and no opportunity of conveyance shall escape me. I hold the injunction of a friend sacred; tho' I shall break in on much of your time (which you could more pleasingly enjoy in your own Government) to read this nonsense of mine, yet when you recollect that I only obey your Orders in writing, the Fault then lies at your own door; and until you recall your commands you may expect to be thus frequently pester'd.

August 5.—This Evening Brigr Murray with a command of 1200 men went up the River. As yet we have no news of him, nor can we even guess at the Duty he went upon, unless it is to burn the Frigates, storeships &c. that are about 12 leagues up. Capt'n Rous has a troublesome time of it, the Enemy have a few guns and one mortar eternally annoying him; he's obliged to weigh his anchor and shift his berth every tide, and wherever he goes the guns and mortar attend him.

Gen. Wolfe is just arriv'd with a scouting party, who have been up the Country some few miles; but have had no success, more than bringing the Gen safe back.

August 8.—The lower town was this day reduced to ashes, except about 12 houses at the North Point.

August 10.—I was this moment told there was a schooner going to Halifax, & therefore was willing to embrace the opportunity of sending by her & not wait for the Diana's sailing as at first intended.

I must beg the favour of you to make my best respects to Messrs Bulkeley, & Hore and Familys. I hope they will excuse my not writing to them; I could say no more than I have to you & therefore if you will be kind enough to let 'em partake of the accot. I send you'll oblige me much.

If you've any news I should think myself honor'd in hearing it from you: I flatter myself either Mr. Bulkeley or the major from the least hint of yours will take an early opportunity of sending me one line. If there 's nothing of a public nature stirring, you can't want an agreeable piece of news (for agreeable it will ever be to me) I mean an account of yourself.

Please to accept my best wishes and to believe me to be, Sir,

Yr most obligd and most
obedt servt.

(sig,) JS GIBSON.

10 August

1759

P. S. To morrow I begin writing to you again. Mr. Roberts is well, he's with his Regiment under Br. Murray. Makins of Amhersts' & Leland of Anstruthers are both shot thro' the leg, but both in a fair way of recovery; I mention them in particular as Intimates of Mr. Hore's. As soon as I can be ascertain'd of the names numbers &c., of the sufferers of the late Battle of the Windmill, you shall have it. I send an abridgement of Genl. Wolfe's Manifesto, which, immediately on his arrival, he endeavoured to disperse over their whole country. As yet it has had no effect.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
SIEGE OF QUEBEC
AND
TOTAL REDUCTION OF CANADA
IN
1759 AND 1760.
BY
JOHN JOHNSON

CLERK AND QUARTER MAS'R SERGEANT TO THE 58TH REG'T.

THE JOURNALIST'S PREFACE

At the particular request of several gentlemen of the Fifty-eighth Regiment of Foot, to which I was Clerk Twenty-eight years (from its first raising in 1756, until after the late siege of Gibraltar, and from which I was discharged in 1784) but more especially at the request of Lieutenant David Mc Kemptie the Adjutant, and as such, was my Master, and who prevailed on me to keep a Memorandum of such particular occurrences as might happen in our Expedition up the River Saint Laurence, for that Campaign, against Quebec ; through which Importunity I was prevailed upon to take the Minutes of the several transactions which appeared at that time, to be most worthy of Observation ; and

which I have mentioned at large in the following Memoirs, which happened during the Siege of Quebec in the Year 1759: As also of the nature of our Duty, after we were become Masters of that City, and the Country adjacent: with their bold Attempt to retake it by Assault upon the ice the following Winter: with our Battle and defeat; and of our being besieged in Quebec the Spring following:—As also, I have given the best Account I am able of the Total Reduction of All Canada in the Year 1760, by General Lord Amherst; and to which I have added a few special remarks and observations.—

A great number of the most material circumstances which happened in the course of these Memoirs were furnished by the above said Adjutant, Mr. Mc Kemptie, and other Gentlemen, of Our Own, and other Regiments: And if Mr. Mc Kemptie, had lived, he purposed to make them publick as soon as the Regiment should arrive in England, and which was in the Year 1763; but unfortunately being wounded in the Battle on the heights of Abram, the thirteenth of September, and of which Wound he Died; by which the publication dropped:—

The Journalist now having no person of consequence to assist him in the work; in collecting any future Minutes; and well knowing that a Work of this nature coming thought the hands of a Soldier, without any other Rank, or Distinction; he was therefore intending to burn those he had already collected; and communicating his intention to some of his Comrades; who prevailed upon him not to destroy, those he already had collected, and assisting him all in their power, he began to renew his Journal; as also being assisted by several Gentlemen, some of which were of consequence, and whose names he dare not mention, as not having their sanction for so doing; and some of whom were near the fountain head of particular Affairs; he brought them to the conclusion as they stand in the following Sheets.—

It may appear visble to every considerate person that the Journalist never intended setting himself up for an Author; by letting his work lye dormant ever since the year 1763; the time the Regiment first came to Europe; well knowing that his rank in the Army, would not be a Sufficient Sanction for public Approbation; and not being in a channel to get the title of Right Honorable prefixed to it:—

But being at length lodged in Safety, banking under the bright

beams of His Most Gracious Majesty, in Chelsea Hospital, and plentifully provided with every comfortable necessary of life, by the Benevolence of his Country: and having much liesure time, and no profitable employment he set himself down; and for the amusement of himself, as also of Such of his Comrades, who were partakers with him in the toils and dangers mentioned in the following Memoirs; And for whose perusal they are at all times free.—

SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

By way of Introduction to the following task it will not be amiss to give some account of a dispute which had arisen between some of the Indians of the Six nations and the Governors of our Southern provinces in North America:—which was as follows, viz.—The Six Nations complained that they had had several of their people wrongfully treated, by killing some, and by treating others with contempt, and for which they hoped the British King would cause their complaints to be heard, and that their Grievances might be redressed:—It was therefore ordered, that the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the Governor of New Jersey, and Sir William Johnson, deputy for Indian Affairs; Four Members of the Council of Pennsylvania, Six Members of the Assembly, two agents for the province of New Jersey, besides a great number of planters, and others from all parts of Pennsylvania, and New Jersey; these being all assembled at Easton, near One hundred miles above Philadelphia, in the month of October, of the preceding year; they were met by the Deputies and Chiefs, of the following Indian Nations, viz. Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Delawares, and Unanias, the Minisinks, Mohicans and Wappingers:—It appears that the French, or those nations of Indians in their interest had artfully insinuated themselves into the favour of some of the Chiefs of the Six Nations, and by their artifice had stirred them up to resentment against the English Colonists:—the Delawares and Minisinks complained the English had encroached upon their lands, and which had provoked them to dig up the hatchet. The Shawanese complained, that passing through South Carolina, were decoyed into a house, where One of them was killed on the Spot, and the rest very ill used:—the Senecas complained, that about two or three years past, some of their Warriors, were returning home through Virginia, they were met by a party of English warriors who decoyed them to a place, under pretence of giving them provisions, and treacherously

killed two of them on the Spot, and kept one boy prisoner, and that when they were at peace with the English :—The Minisinks complained, that the English came so fast amongst them, that they had been forced to quit a vast extent to make room for them, and they had not been paid, nor had any acknowledgement been made to them for it ; and debars them also from hunting on those lands for a living for themselves and families, and must therefore take up the hatchet or perish :—These complaints being taken into consideration, and redressed to the satisfaction of all complaining parties ; and having received from the British Council a considerable present of such articles as are esteemed among them, they again buried the hatchet, and unanimously Signed the treaty of firm friendship on the twenty-Sixth day of October, One thousand, Seven hundred and Fifty-eight.—

After the above peace, was thus happily concluded, and all differences between the Colonies and Indians had entirely subsided ; the Ministry formed a plan for the year One thousand, Seven hundred and Fifty-nine, which was as follows :—

That instead of employing our whole force in North America against a Single object ; they proposed, that as we had taken from the enemy in the preceding Campaign, the Island of Cape Breton, the Island of Saint John, Gaspé, and other places of Consequences, and that we had made ourselves masters of the coast of the Gulf of Saint Laurence ; that this year they would divide the Army into three different parts, and employ them accordingly ; as it would divide, and consequently weaken that of the Enemy : But at the same time they proposed, the Stationing our three Armies so, as to enable them to co-operate, and assist each other, and join together as occasion might require :

That the Conquest of Canada was the Grand Object ; and which was to be prosecuted in the following manner. —

General Wolfe was to proceed up the River Saint Laurence, as early in the Spring as it should be found practicable, with a Body of about Eight thousand men ; and was to be supported by a considerable Squadron of Ships of War, and commence the Siege against Quebec.

That General Amherst, who Commanded in Chief in North America, with another Army of about twelve thousand men ; composed of Regulars

and Provincials, should Reduce Ticonderoga, and Crown Point : then cross Lake Champlain, and proceed by the nearest Route he could to the bank of the River Saint Laurence, and Join General Wolfe in the Siege of Quebec.—

That Brigadier General Poideaux reinforced by a considerable number of Indians under the command of General Sir William Johnson, which should Besiege the French Fort at the Fall of Niagara ; take that, and then embark his troops, and fall down the lake Ontario into the River Saint Laurence ; and in his way, Besiege and take Montreal ; then come down the River, and Join General Amherst, and General Wolfe in the Siege of Quebec.—

So far the Plan.—

Before we proceed any further, let us take a retrospective view of the preceeding plan, and seriously consider, and reflect on the improbability, Nay, I had almost said, the impossibility of executing it : As,

First, the River Saint Laurence, is both a dangerous, and uncertain navigation, especially in the Spring ; even, for those, who are acquainted with it ; much more so to us who were utter Strangers to it :—The City of Quebec is remarkably strong both from situation, and fortification ; and the inhabitants of Canada, brave and resolute, even to a proverb :—Again, Monsieur de Montcalm, a brave and experienced General ; who well knew how to defend every accessible part to the greatest advantage ; at the head of a powerful Army, who were well disciplined ; composed of Regulars, and Canadian Militia ; besides a great number of Indians, and irregular Canadians, to Scout and harrass our small Army, from the Woods :—They had also another Army of regular Militia at Montreal, and its neighborhood, under the command of the Chevalier de Levy ; and who were on any emergency to act in concert with General de Montcalm.

Again, the march of General Amherst's Army by the Lake Champlain, seemed impracticable ; as Fort Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, both strong forts, and well Garrisoned, and in the possession of the Enemy : and if he should be so fortunate, as to have them Surrender to him without opposition ; he had no vessels to transport his troops down lake Champlain to the bank of the river Saint Laurence And therefore no seeming possibility of Joining General Wolfe in the Siege of Quebec.

Again, Brigadier General Poideaux was like to meet with work enough, for the operations of a Single Campaign at Fort Niagara, without that intolerable Journey cross the lake Niagara, to Besiege and take Montreal in his Journey to Quebec.—

Let the most exalted Military Genius look on the foregoing plan of Operations for the ensuing Campaign ; and candidly give his opinion. But however, to proceed, the Government has so ordered it ; it must be so ; let the consequence be what it will ; Wolfe must undertake the Siege of Quebec, and the Conquest of Canada alone ; and without any seeming possibility of Succour or Support ; or perish in the attempt : He must cope with every difficulty, and stand the brunt of every danger alone, as plainly appears by the following memoirs.—

It was the twenty-seventh of July, before General Amherst had gained Ticonderoga, as being forced to Besiege it in form ; and which took him till the fourth of August, in settling the Garrison, and giving the necessary instructions for its preservation and defence ; When he arrived at Crown Point, on the fourth or fifth of August, he found it abandoned by the Enemy : Who had demolished as much of the fortifications as they were able before they left it, and which took him to the middle of October, putting it into a proper state of defence, and in building vessels to transport his Army down Lake Champlain :—And after all, he had the Isle and (aux) Noix ; a strong Garrison, commanded by Monsieur de Burlemarque, a brave and experienced General, and which consisted of upwards of three thousand men ; as also Fort Chambly at the bottom of the lake ; both these must be taken before he could gain the bank of the River Saint Laurence, in order to assist General Wolfe at Quebec : (And at which time he was not wanted there, as the City surrendered on capitulation the Eighteenth of September, and much about the time our fleet Sailed for England) :—

As for Brigadier General Poideaux' share of the above plan, in regard to the Siege of Quebec, except some faint accounts, received at Montreal the following year ; how he was killed before Niagara, and was succeeded at that place by Brigadier General Gage ; but anything worthy of remark in these Memoirs never came to my hands.—

But to proceed.—

In the latter end of April, One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty

nine; the English fleet, under the Command of Admiral Sanders, and Rear Admiral Holmes, arrived at Louisbourg, it being the place appointed for the rendez-vous of the Fleet, and Army for the Expedition up the River Saint Laurence against Quebec: but finding that harbour so blocked up with Ice, that they could not get in, they therefore made the best of their way to Halifax, where they arrived the beginning of May:—Admiral Sanders previous to his coming to Halifax, had dispatched Rear Admiral Devrell up the River Saint Laurence with a Squadron, to intercept any Convoy going up that River from France to Quebec: as also to find out, so far as he should be able the navigation of that river: He sailed up as high as the Isle of Coudres, where he gained intelligence, that the French had gotten the start of him, and had actually arrived at Quebec, with Seventeen sail of Store Ships with a large number of Recruits, Arms, Ammunition and provisions under the Convoy of those Frigates.—

As soon as the Army and all things necessary for the intended Expedition were assembled and ready; and the proper Officers were appointed to their several stations of command, Major General Wolfe was appointed by his Majesty to command in Chief; the Brigadier Generals,—Monckton, Townshend, and Murray were his Subordinates.—

All things being Settled and in perfect readiness, the Fleet sailed from Halifax the latter end of May, with about Eight thousand land forces on board, and arrived at the Island of Coudres in the evening of the twenty fourth of June, without any material Occurrence happening:—The next day we sailed up the river and came at an Anchor about three leagues below the Western point of the Island of Orleans; to which place General Wolfe immediately sent Colonel Carleton with a detachment, and which, upon his approach was immediately abandoned by the Enemy: The possession of this point was of the greatest importance to us; as it made room for our Shipping to come up into the Bay, and lye safe at Anchor out of the current, and as near the City as the Admiral should see necessary for the good of the Service.

—Brigadier General Monckton, with Four Battalions, the Louisbourg Grenadiers, some of the light Infantry, and New England irregulars, called Rangers, crossed the River at the same time that Colonel Carleton took possession of the point of Orleans; and after a sharp Skirmish of near two hours, with the Indians, and Canadians, in which we sustained

a considerable loss of Killed and Wounded, at length the enemy gave way, and left us in the possession of point Levi: a port of the highest advantage to us, as being within Cannon shot of the town on the South Shore of the River Saint Laurence.—

Being in the full possession of these two advantageous post, point Levi, and the point of Orleans, the next day, the twenty-sixth of June, General Wolfe landed the whole Army on the Island of Orleans, and at about three leagues from the point, or post, then occupied by Colonel Carleton, and on the South side of that Island; and on the most agreeable Spot I ever Saw, and which is worthy of particular observation in these Memoirs:—It being about ten leagues in length, from East to West, and in the broadest places about One league in breadth; being situated in the middle of the River Saint Laurence, and so divides it into two channels, the North and the South Channels, the South Channell being the Main Current is navigable at all times for Ships of the greatest burthen: the North channel, having no current running down it, is navigable for small vessels only:—It is a bountiful Island, and well cultivated, and produces all kinds of grain, pasture and vegetables; is full of Villages, plantations, and abounding in people.

General Wolfe had no sooner landed his troops and taken possession of the Island, but he published a Manifesto to the Colonists, and Inhabitants of Canada, couched in the following terms.—

“ That the King of Great Britain, having Just cause to take up Arms
 “ against the French King, he had sent him with a considerable Arma-
 “ ment, in order to reduce the country of Canada, and bring it into
 “ Subjection to the King of Great Britain: at the same time declaring;
 “ that his aim was not against them, the industrious inhabitants, and
 “ peasants, nor against the Ministers of Religion; he came not to depo-
 “ pulate or destroy, but to subdue them, and bring them into subjection
 “ to the King his Master; he lamented the misfortunes, to which they
 “ must be exposed, and therefore, he freely offered them his protection,
 “ and Safeguard, and was sincerely sorry for their calamities, which he
 “ knew they must be exposed to by the War: that he would keep them
 “ safe in their possessions, and grant them the free exercise of their
 “ religion, and therefore begged they would remain quiet, and take no
 “ part in the dispute:—You are to observe, says he, that we are Masters
 “ of the River Saint Laurence, whereby your communication with Europe

" is entirely cut off :—I have here with me a large Fleet and Army ;
 " besides a powerful Army with General Amherst, who will come down
 " and Join me in a few days :—He reminded them, that their utmost
 " exertion would be useless, and would only serve to deprive them of the
 " advantages they might reap to themselves from their neutrality ;—He
 " also reminded them of the cruelties exercised by the subjects of france
 " upon his Masters British Subjects, in his American provinces ; But
 " Britons, says he, are too generous to follow such barbarous examples :
 " I herefore offer you peace, in the midst of the horrors of War, and leave
 " it to yourselves to determine your fate, by your own conduct ; and hope
 " that the World will do me Justice, if you by your refusal oblige me to
 " prosecute violent measures : You are not only to consider the Strength
 " and Power of Great Britain,—but its generosity also, in thus stretching
 " out the hand of humanity ; a hand ready to assist on all occasions :
 " Even-now, when France by her weakness is compelled to abandon you,
 " in the most trying, and most critical juncture ".—

This Manifesto produced no effect, unless to plunge them into the depth of horror and misery by obliging General Wolfe to use those rigid means mentioned at large in page 42 of these memoirs : their priests and clergy had represented the English to them, as the most Savage and Barbarous people on the Earth :—They immediately abandoned their habitations, and exposed themselves and families to the most dismal calamities that could befall them :—They Joined themselves to the Scalping parties of Indians, and sulking in the Woods, surprized and scalped our small reconnoitring parties, and Butchered them with the most Savage and inhuman barbarity ; take the following as a Speciman of their Savage and inhuman proceedings, to such as unfortunately fell into their barbarous hands :—

The First that fell a Prey into the hands of these monsters, in cruelty, happened the third day after our landing on the Island of Orleans, and the day we marched from the ground where we first landed, to the Point of Orleans ; the Post taken possession of by Colonel Carleton the first night, as mentioned in page 9. Three Soldiers, as soon as they came to their ground, and had pitched their tents, straggled to a small distance, into a Wood on the flank of their Camp to gather some vegetable herbs to eat with their Salt meat ; and which are good for several disorders, and with which the woods abound in the Summer Season :—They had

no sooner entered into the Wood, but they were surprised by a party of these Canadian Savages, and butchered in the most cruel and barbarous manner; being first killed and scalped, then ripped open and their heart taken out, and themselves left on the Spot where this horrid barbarity was committed.

General Wolfe sent a very pathetic letter to General Montcalm, remonstrating that such barbarities were intirely contrary to the maxims of War, and highly dishonourable to the Nations that practises it, as well as disgraceful and Shocking to human nature, and desired in the most tender manner, that the Colonists and Indians might be restrained, rather than encouraged in their Barbarities upon such as unfortunately fell into their hands, otherwise he would lay waste the whole country wherever he should set his feet: Notwithstanding these remonstrances, they continued to Murder and Strip all that fell into their Savage and barbarous hands: The General seeing that his letter had produced no good effect, and in order if possible to intimidate the Enemy found it absolutely necessary to censure at some irregularities which were committed by our Soldiers, by way of retaliation —

Take the following short extract of Quebec:

Quebec is situated on a point or neck of land with the open Bay of Quebec in its front to the East or rather to the North East — to the South side runs the navigable channel of the River Saint Lawrence — to the North Side and at a very small distance from the shore runs the River Saint Charles and the Main land of Canada.

On the West is the Mountain — it is divided into two zones the upper and the lower zone divided by a steep Rock with a Summit between them. It is fortified on the West or Land Side with a strong Wall and a Dry Ditch but on the Water or River Side the Wall there was not a bastion or crenell, and what was a rather extensive battery the Brigadier General Armstrong with his Brigade had it so strong there is also a fine College on the East or Water Side a beautiful structure and which suffered very little in the Siege — on the Water Side to the East there which also suffered very little there is also another beautiful building called the Hotel Dieu, where we kept our hospitals in the beginning of the Siege and where were kept the sick and wounded in the Hospital in the City there were also some other buildings — there is also

a Beautiful Nunnery at a small distance from the City, in a healthful and pleasant situation on the Bank of the River Saint Charles; the City before we came to it, had been full of very good houses, but they were, in the general made an heap of Rubbish by General Monckton.—

Although General Montcalm well knew that he was greatly Superior to us, both in the Number of his Forces, as well as in situation, and the extensive knowledge of the Country, and to which we were perfect Strangers; he had also reinforced his troops with Five regular Battalions of the best of the Militia of the Colony; and who were completely disciplined, and able to act in concert in all cases, with the regular french troops: He had also, a Militia, of all the inhabitants, who were, in any wise able to bear Arms, but who were not so well disciplined at present as the others: He had besides all these, a vast number of those whom through the course of this work are called Canadians, or irregular canadians, and are mostly Joined with the Indians in their Savage and inhuman barbarities: Besides all these he had an innumerable multitude of Indians; not only of those in alliance with them, but a great number of mercenaries both from the North, and West; and whose language the Canadian Indians could not understand; besides a vast number of Aca-dians who had made an Alliance with the french and Canadians, and who were rejected by General Amherst, those privileges granted to the Canadian Militia, at the Capitulation at Montreal: Yet, notwithstanding having this numerous host, the General kept himself on the defensive all in his power; and took all possible precaution, to keep himself as much as he could from facing us in the Field: He depended more on the natural strength and Situation of the country, than on the vastness of his Army; which to our Appearance; as strangers seemed in many places almost impregnable; and he took all the care in his power to defend every accessable part, with intrenchments, redoubts, and Batteries of Cannon: He had encamped his Regulars, of all denominations, both troops and Militia, on the Heights of Beauport, from the River Montmorenci, to the River Saint Charles, and had entrenched the whole length of his encampment, and supported it with Strong Redoubts, and Batteries of Cannon.—

Our troops had no sooner finished their landing, on the Island of Orleans, but the Wind increased, and in the night blew a hurricane, accompanied with such heavy rain, that several of the transports, and

Store Ships broke from their Anchors, and ran foul of one another ; and much damage was done among the Small Craft, and several of them were Stove and Sunk.—The Enemy perceiving the distress, and confusion among the Shipping, occasioned by this Storm ; sent down the River at Midnight, Seven Fire Ships, in full Blaze from Quebec : But through the assistance of Divine providence, and the vigilance of the Sailors, who grappled and towed them to the Shores, where they burned down to the Waters edge, without doing the least damage to any of our fleet. Some time after the above, they sent down a Train of Fire Rafts in a blaze, and which was also dragged to the Shores by the Sailors and destroyed without doing the least damage.

After Brigadier General Monckton had drove off the enemy, and had established his Post at Point Levi ; he lost no time, but immediately set about Erecting Batteries against the town, from whence, in a few days he Bombarded both the Upper, and lower towns ; and soon reduced them to an heap of Rubbish.

The next morning after Brigadier General Monckton had drove off the enemy as related in page 9, and had made himself master of the point Levi side of the River ; and General de Montcalm seeing that, that great number of his troops had been beaten off by a mere handful of our men, but he was like one thunder struck with amazement ; as thinking that our whole Army would scarcely have been able to have gained it ; and well knowing that if he was not dispossessed as soon as possible, he would in a little time erect Batteries, against the City and very quickly reduce it to a heap of Rubbish :—He therefore sent over a detachment of Sixteen hundred men, to rally those who were already there ; and who were to beset them round about ; close in upon them, in a circle, fall suddenly upon them and massacre, or take the whole prisoners :—General Montcalm well knew, that all this might very easily have been done, as all round where our small Army lay, was either thick Woods, or deep hollows, where they could easily conceal themselves, both from our sight and knowledge, till the plan would be ripe for execution, and the Signal given : But the bright eye, of the all seeing providence, that knows the secret machinations of the heart, and often suffers the wicked to be taken in their own trap, evergoverned this also ; for this detachment coming over in the night, and landing without any previous Notice to those who were already there ; and they taking them to be a detachment

sent by us to reinforce Brigadier Monckton's party; fell upon them at their first landing, and in a little time put the whole into confusion, before they discovered the mistake; so that they Retreated with precipitation, and suffered the Brigadier to finish his Batteries:—And which were soon mounted with a heavy train of Artillery, which in a little time reduced the town to a heap of Ruins, according to General Montcalm's expectations.—

As soon as the hospitals for the Sick, and Wounded were finished at the Point de Orleans; and that the provisions and Stores were all landed, and lodged in the Magazines; All the remaining part of the Army, who were not at Point Levi, with Brigadier Monckton, were landed on the Montmorenci Side of the North Channel, on the Second day of July. We crossed that Channel under the Cover of two Sloops of War, although exposed to a hot fire, from some Batteries which the Enemy had on the Beaupost Side of the Fall of Montmorenci; we received no damage of consequence, in crossing over to Montmorenci.

We no sooner arrived at our New Ground, on the heights of Montmorenci, but Brigadier General Townshend acted the part of an able Engineer; and soon erected Batteries on an elevated Spot, on the Southernmost Point of that River; from which he was able to overlook the Enemy's works on the Beaupost side, and Inslade their trenches. Their Batteries were soon finished and Mounted, with a heavy train of Artillery, which were dragged up a Steep Ascent by the Soldiers, with the greatest and difficulty, ever done by men.

The morning after we came to Montmorenci; a small party being sent out into a Wood on the flank of our Camp, to Cover, and protect a party who were making Fascines for the Batteries; they were suddenly surprized, and attacked by a Skulking party of Indians, and Routed; but being speedily supported by a detachment from the Camp, the Savages were repulsed with considerable loss.

Our Station at Montmorenci was attended with the following considerable circumstances; at First, being rather on an Elevated Situation, than the contrary side of the River Montmorenci; and by which the General could from hence oversee every movement of the enemy; both in their Camp, as well as in their intrenchments; nothing of movement could be done but he was an Eye witness to it.—Again, he had discovered,

that on the Beach, below the Fall, at certain seasons of the Tide, for a considerable time, the water was so low, that it might easily be forded; by which means he thought he could take a more minute Survey of their motions, and by that, and the help of this ford, he might sometimes have an opportunity of attacking them to the greater advantage: And that in case the Enemy discovered his design before he could put it in execution, he could make good his retreat to Montmorenci: Not considering in the meantime that his Retreat might be cut off, by the coming in of the tide:—Again, Colonel Howe, in reconnoitring the Woods with the Corps of Light Infantry, along the bank of the River Montmorenci, had discovered a Ford, about three Miles up that River; but that the Enemy had so strongly entrenched and fortified the opposite shore with redoubts; and which of itself was so Steep and Craggy, and covered with such thick wood, and kept by such a number of Canadians and Indians, that there was no possibility of forcing it:—We had several rencounters at this place, and had several brave Officers and men, Killed, and Wounded, without effecting anything.

—Again, the General thought, that if he could gain the Beauport side of this River, he should soon be able to bring General Montcalm to a Battle:—that he Scour their Trenches, and drive their whole Army before him above the town;—That he should gain the River Saint Charles, and open his works on the North Side the town, as Brigadier Monckton had opened on the South Side.

On the Eighth of July, in a Council of War it was resolved, to send two ships of War, two Armed Sloops, and some transports with troops on board; to make a diversion on the other side of the town; and to endeavor as much as possible to draw off the attention of the enemy from Beauport; as expecting that General Montcalm would follow him up the River with his Army, and by that means leave his present Object open to him, whereby he might the easier become possessed of that, so much desired Situation:

—He went himself in person, on this Sham Expedition, that he might find out as much as possible, the nature of their Situation on that side of the town: He observed minutely the banks of the River, and searched diligently for a convenient place where troops could be landed, with any view of success:—He also viewed particularly the strength of

their Army in those parts, as also, as far as he was able, how they were Stationed : and after the most careful and minute examination he found the banks all the way lined with such a multitude of troops, that it was not in his power to force through them ; and the Ascent up the banks between Quebec and Cape Rouge, were everywhere not only difficult but extremely dangerous : However he ordered Colonel Carleton to land with a Body of troops at point au tremble, thinking by that means to draw off their attention from his object at Beauport, and therefore, enable him to prosecute his favorite Scheme ; but all this was to no purpose, no motion being made at Beauport on this account ; At this place we made some prisoners, and sustained very little loss :—When Brigadier Monckton opened his Batteries against the town, a great number of the most eminent of the inhabitants had fled thither with the most valuable of their Effects.—

After General Wolfe had returned to Montmorenci, from the above Sham expedition he began to work his brain how he could possibly make good his favorite plan, of getting possession of the Beauport side of the River Montmorenci :—He saw,—and well knew now, that the Enemy was very numerous, and that they were posted everywhere to the greatest advantage against him ; and that they had no occasion to weaken one place to support another. And seeing no likelihood of General Amherst's coming to his assistance, as he had been led to expect he would, he therefore came to this Resolution ; to attack the Enemy in their trenches at Beauport, let the consequence be what it would.—

But to Return.

In the Absence of General Wolfe up the River above the town, Brigadier General Townshend acted the part of an able Officer, by keeping up a continual Fire upon the enemy, very often scouring their trenches ; as also by hindering them from entering a Battery on the opposite Bank of the River Montmorenci, and which would have greatly annoyed our Camp, if it had been effected.—

The Scheme General Wolfe had in his mind for Storming the Enemy's Works at Beauport was this :—He first proposed to Reduce a small Fort, which was erected near the Water's edge, and lay almost under the Point of the Fall, and situated so, as to be out of Gun Shot of their intrenchment on the hill : foreseeing, that if they should support this

Battery, as he had all the reason in the World to think they would not, he should be able to bring them to an engagement: if on the contrary, they should remain idle spectators of its Reduction, he should be better able to examine their Situation, and determine how they could more easily be attacked to advantage; preparations were accordingly made to put the above into Execution.—

On the thirty first day of July in the Forenoon, the Tide being at Ebb, and the Gully below the Fall fordable: Part of Brigadier General Monckton's troops at Point de Levi were to be embarked in the Boats of the Fleet, and to be transported cross the Bay and wait for the two Brigades, under the command of Brigadier Townshend, and Brigadier Murray, who were to be in readiness to pass the ford at the Signal given:—In the meantime, Colonel Howe with a Corps of Light Infantry, Skirted the Wood in an Indian File' in full sight of the Enemy, who were posted all along the opposite bank of the River Montmorenci, as if he intended attempting to Storm the Fort above; although his design in so doing was to divert the enemy's attention from the Main object:—In the Interim while these preparations were getting in readiness the Admiral stationed the Centurion, a Sixty Gun Ship so as to demolish a Battery which commanded the Ford below the Fall; he also ordered two Armed Vessels, to be run ashore under a Redoubt, in order to cover the Landing of Brigadier Monckton's troops from point de Levi:—It was visible enough to every discerning eye, the consternation the Enemy were in at these formal preparations; as not being able to guess at our real design; and what perplexed them more, was, Colonel Howe's going, as they thought to the upper ford; they sent off with all speed strong detachments to secure that pass; they double lined their intrenchments, and called in vast numbers of their Savage parties.

We had besides all before mentioned, a numerous train of Artillery planted on a commanding eminence at the point of the Fall, to Insalide and drive them out of their intrenchments:—The fire of the Centurion, which being so well directed, and Sustained, encouraged the General to give the Signal upon the Signal the whole troops were put in motion; but by an unforeseen, unthought of accident, several of the boats with the troops on board run aground, upon a ledge of Sand, which runs to a considerable distance from the Shore, and the tide being out, they were almost above water; and which accident caused great disorder in the boats

and much time was lost, and the troops on board them being all the time exposed to the most terrible fire of both Shot and Shells from the Enemy's Batteries on the Shore : the two Brigades at Montmorenci were stopt, although they were on the Beach and ready to cross the Ford ;—After some time the Boats were again floated, and the Signal again repeated, and the place of landing pointed out :—Thirteen Companies of Grenadiers, with two hundred of the Second Battalion of Royal Americans were the First who landed :—They had previous to their landing, received instructions, to form in Four distinct Bodies, and begin the attack by Storming those Batteries, and Redoubts, on the Beach, and below the intrenchments on the Iminence : they were to be supported by Brigadiers Monckton's Brigade, so soon as they were landed, and should be joined by the two Brigades from Montmorenci, who were then on their march, and had actually crossed the ford :—But it oftens happens that the best concerted plans gets marred in the execution ; so it happened here : the Grenadiers by neglecting their instructions, threw the whole into disorder and confusion ; for as soon as they had landed, without waiting to be drawn up in any regular form, rushed impetuously up toward the Enemy's intrenchments ; the Batteries and Redoubts before mentioned were abandoned by the enemy upon their first landing ; the very first Fire they received from the Enemy was so well laid, that it soon checked their impetuosity, and put them into the utmost confusion, and obliged them to take shelter in a Redoubt which had been abandoned by the Enemy, where they were forced to remain for some time, as being unable to form or to help themselves in any wise under so hot a fire as the enemy kept up ; This all happened before Brigadier Monckton's troops were all landed, and before the two Brigades from Montmorenci were come up.

—General Wolfe seeing their distressful situation, knew how they were exposed, and utterly unable to help themselves,—that all their endeavors were fruitless, he ordered them to Retreat, and from behind Brigadier Monckton's Brigade, who were by this time all landed, and formed on the Beach in good Order, and were also Joined by the two Brigades from Montmorenci ; they instantly Retreated as they were ordered, leaving behind them a vast number of Killed and Wounded, to the mercy of those barbarous Cannibals, whose chief thirst is after blood ; these Savage Canadians and Indians they had called into the intrenchments, before the Action began, as have been before mentioned ; and who massacred and Scalped them in our own Sight ; it not being in our

power to help them, nor deliver them out of their Savage and barbarous hands:—By this unhappy unforeseen Accident, the whole Army was put into disorder, and on seeing the improbability of Success, and being filled with horror at the barbarous cruelty of the Savages committed on their brother Soldiers:—By this time the day was far spent, and all the while standing under a hot fire from the enemy's intrenchments; and the whole Army greatly intimidated, with the view of the enemy's unapproachable works, and the great number of men already lost before the work was begun, as well as the cruelty of the Savages; as likewise the day began to wear away apace, and the tide coming in, which would in a little time have rendered the ford below the Fall impregnable for the two Brigades from Montmorenci; and Again, the good providence of the Almighty with his all piercing eye, saw our distressed situation, out of his tender compassion towards us, sent, as in an instant, a surprizing Shower of Rain, which came suddenly, without any previous tokens of its approach, to the great astonishment of every individual present, and which makes it more astonishing, that it reached no further than the line of our distresses extended; and under the favour of which Storm Brigadier Townshend got safe to Montmorenci, with what was left of his two Brigades; and Brigadier Monckton barked the remainder of his troops in the boats, and went back to point de Levi; leaving behind us about Five hundred brave Officers and Soldiers.—Admiral Saunders, ordered the two Armed Vessels which had been run aground to cover the landing, to be set on fire and Burnt; to keep them from falling into the Enemy's hands, and being employed against us.—

Let us in this place make a Short digression and look on the distressed circumstances of Captain Ochterlony, and Ensign Peyton; both of the same Company, of the Second Battalion of the Royal American Regiment, commanded by Brigadier General Monckton; and we shall find them attended with the most horrible circumstances that can be described:—and which are as follows:—

It has been mentioned above, that thirteen Companies of Grenadiers, with two hundred of the Second Battalion of the Royal Americans, were the first who landed, in this unsuccessful attempt, at the heights of Beauport; and that through their impetuosity and rashness the loss of Success was laid to their charge; however that be:—

—Captain Ochterlony received a Musquet Shot in his Breast, which

disabled him from carrying Arms any longer ; although he still advanced with his men, until, through loss of Blood, he was forced to desist and Sit down ; About the same time, that the Captain received his wound, Ensign Peyton, was Shot through the Leg, and which he bore as long as he was able, till at length he was forced to sit down also ;—They were both sitting together, when the Soldiers by General Wolfe's order Retreated, as above mentioned, and were left behind ; as not being able to Retreat with them ; were they looked for nothing but the most cruel death :—Being thus left, in the most dreadful situation that can be described ; Captain Ochterlony looking round him, saw a french Soldier, and two Indians coming in full march towards them ; and having the french tongue fluent, accosted the Soldier in that language ; he hoped, that they would use him and his Companion, as Gentlemen, and prisoners of War :—As soon as the French Soldier came up to him, he robbed him (the Captain) of his Watch and Money, and taking his hat, which was Gold lace, he went away, and left him to the care, and tender mercy of the two Indians ; one of which Advanced, and struck at him with the Club of his firelock, but missing his head, it took his Shoulder ; at the same time the other Savage Shot him in the breast ; on which he cried out, aloud, O Peyton, the Villian has Shot me !—upon which the Indian Sprung up to him, and Stabbed him in the Belly with a Scalping knife :

As none of the Officers wore Swords in this attempt, I cannot call it an Action ; and as the Captain had abandoned Fuzil, when he was first wounded, he was now entirely defenceless, and left to the mercy of those barbarous and inhuman brutes :—The Ruffian finding him alive, endeavored to Strangle him with his Sash :—Mr. Peyton seeing the distress of his Captain, and having a Fuzil with a double barrel, Fired and Killed One of the Savages dead on the Spot : the other instantly advancing, Mr. Peyton, at a small distance discharged a Second time, and which did not appear to him at that time, to have taken any effect, although, upon examination, afterwards he found it had ; the Savage at the same time fired, and Wounded Mr. Peyton in the Shoulder, and rushing instantly upon him, with his Bayonet wounded in the Belly : Mr. Peyton in attempting to avoid the Bayonet was also wounded in the hand :—Mr. Peyton in the above Scuffle, and at the time he was wounded in the left hand by the Bayonet, Siezed the Savage's Firelock with his right hand, and with a Jerk pulled him forward, and drawing a short dagger he had

by his side, he Stabbed the Savage, and which caused a great Struggle between them ; insomuch, that for some time, Mr. Peyton was fearful who would have the advantage, but at length he prevailed, and got uppermost, and with his dagger killed him outright :—Mr. Peyton had no sooner gained this victory, by killing the two indians, but he turned up the blanket of the one he had the Struggle with ; curiously to see whether the Shot he fired at him, had taken any effect, and he found it had, but not so much as to hinder the fore mentioned Struggle between them ; he had no sooner finished his curious survey, but looking up he saw on his left, a large number, of Thirty at least of the Cannibal blood hounds, coming in full march towards him ; and knowing that when they came to him, and should see their two Comrades killed by his hand ; that he should not only be killed, but tortured also with their utmost rage and fury ; he therefore took up his Fuzil, and notwithstanding his being so sorely wounded, he ran to a good distance from the place where he was ; but being so sorely disabled in the late encounter with the Savage, and being shot through the Leg before, he grew faint through loss of blood ; he could go no further, and was forced to sit down ; and loaded his Fuzil, and presented it to the two foremost ; who being advanced some distance from their companions, but upon his presenting his piece they Stopt short until they should be joined by their Companions, but looking up he saw at a distance, a party of Highlanders, skirting towards him, he immediately waived his hand in Signal of distress ; the Officer took the hint, and sent three of his party to his assistance ; who, through the midst of the most terrible fire, bore him off in triumph :—Captain Ochterlony was carried into Quebec, where, three or four days afterwards, he died of his wounds :—

It is very remarkable, that this Scene of inhuman barbarity was committed in our own Sight, with many others of the like nature ; and that we were destitute of all power to give them the least assistance.—

At the Capitulation of Quebec ; Brigadier General Townshend, remonstrated with them upon such inhuman, and barbarous proceedings on that day, upon such as were wounded and past all possibility of making their escape ; they told him that it was not done by the Regulars ; nor by any order, but that it was done by the irregular Canadians and Indians, who give ear to no rules, nor was it in their power to restrain them.

Let us in this place take a View of General Wolfe's prospect, and the advantages,—which was to have attended the due execution of it, and we shall find the Sum total after due consideration to stand a—

First, he considered that all our Artillery might be used to effect :—Second, that All the troops could have acted in Concert :—and, Third, that in case of any miscarriage a Retreat to Montmorenci, would at certain times be open at the Ford, on the beach, below the Fall.—

Let us next take a retrospective prospect on the several, and weighty considerations which rise up in opposition to the said plan, and they will stand thus :—As First, the Enemy were posted on a Steep commanding eminence :—The Beach on which we were was covered with Slimy Mud, exceeding Slippery, and broken into deep holes :—the eminence where the Enemy were, was deeply entrenched, and exceeding steep, and in most places seemed impracticable to us, who were below upon the beach. —Again, the Enemy were very numerous, and maintained such a severe Musquetry upon us from those intrenchments, that if the attempt had succeeded according to the General's expectations, our loss must have been very great, and that of the Enemy very inconsiderable ; as they could have disputed every inch of ground between that and the town ; about Four English miles ; after all, there was the River Saint Charles must be passed, (if they would permit us) before we could make any attempt upon the town.—Again. Let us consider further, and we shall soon find the impracticability, nay, I may say the impossibility of ever making good the work we had in hand, that is the taking Quebec on that side the water :—Again, had it even proved successful, and we had forced them to quit those intrenchments which they then occupied : Nay, had the Grenadiers, obeyed their instructions to the greatest punctuality, and formed into four distinct Bodies as they were directed ; they would not have lost one man less than they did ; nor could them have kept themselves from the the distress they were in by the time Brigadier Monckton's troops were all landed, and formed on the Beach ; and that Brigadier Townshend had arrived from Montmorenci ; as their Orders was, first, to Storm those Batteries, and Redoubts which lay in the road up, and below the intrenchments on the hill ; they would all the while they were doing this been exposed to the same Musquetry, which they had in that irregular manner they were in, when the confusion happened among them :—Nay, had they waited on the Beach, till the whole Army

Again, Let us turn our eyes and take a cursory glance of the Situation of the Enemy, and we shall find them on a Steep commanding eminence, deeply and double intrenched, and traversed with Redoubts ; a rough, rocky road up to them ; which appeared to us on the beach below, past all possibility of Access : entirely out of the reach of our fire, and all the while exposed to such a heavy musquetry from them, that most of our Army must have been cut off in the Attempt ; and the remainder have fallen a Sacrifice to the merciless and inhuman Savages : —Again, had the Enemy quitted those intrenchments, after they had killed most of our men ; they could easily have taken the remainder prisoners ; by sending round a detachment by the upper Ford, and have seized our Camp at Montmorenci, and cut off our retreat by the Ford below the Fall ; and which was the last recourse we had to trust to ; they might have taken our heavy train of Artillery planted on the point of the Fall, and employed them against us, and either scoured us out of our new habitation, or else obliged us to keep it so close, as not dare to lift a hand against them, and in a very short time make us all Prisoners of War.—Again, suppose we had gained the heights of Beauport, and had brought up our Artillery, as there was nobody there could see the least shew of Possibility ; they were equally provided with Artillery with ourselves ; the whole road between Beauport and the River Saint Charles was nothing else but one intrenchment at the back of another ; with Adverse Traverses, Redoubts, and Batteries of Cannon and Mortars ; (as we afterwards found when we became Masters of the place). Such a numerous Army in our front to support those works ; besides their boundless number of Savage Indians, and Canadians in the wood on our flank to harrass us day and night, that we should not have been able to support ourselves under the Fatigue : Again, had we even gained the River Saint Charles, as that was a thing impossible ; we should then

have been exactly in the same situation with Brigadier Monckton at Point de Levi ; had an impassible River between us and the town, as he had : indeed we might have Bombarded the North Side of the Town, and reduced it to a heap of Rubbish, as he had done the South side :—Besides all this, on the South side the River Saint Charles is a level open Plain between that and Quebec, about an English mile in breadth ; where the enemy would have intrenched themselves and supported it with Batteries, and defended it to the last extremity ; and have secured every fordable place up that River, as they did that up the River Montmorenci, with Redoubts and Batteries of Cannon : there also we lay open to being continually harrassed in our Rear, and on our flanks by the savage parties from the Woods.—

General Wolfe, whose spirit was too great to bear the least repulse, with any degree of moderation, and finding that his favorite Scheme had miscarried, and fearing he should do nothing to plant a laurel on his brow ; and which was what he thirsted so much after, and without which he could not rest satisfied ; as also he was afraid he should be exposed to the contumelies of a harsh and unthinking populace, and that his Military talents should be exposed to Ridicule, after exerting every faculty both of Body and Mind, for the service of his Country :—These perturbations of his Mind, affected his Body to that degree, that he was for some days intirely unfit for Publick business :—However in this lucid interval, he did not suffer all to lye dormant. He detached Brigadier Murray above the town with twelve hundred men, to cooperate with Rear Admiral Holmes, who had been sent up against the Ships of the Enemy :—Brigadier General Murray was instructed to take every opportunity of provoking the Enemy to a Battle, and which they always as carefully avoided : He twice made an attempt to land his troops on the North Shore, but without success ; He afterwards made a sudden descent at Fort Chambaude, and burned a considerable Magazine, filled with Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, &c. &c. ; but they had secured their Shipping in such a manner, that the Admiral could not come at them :—It was in this expedition, that we received intelligence of the operations of our Southern Armies : How that the Fort of Niagara was taken in conjunction by Brigadier General Gage and General Sir William Johnson : that Brigadier General Prideaux was killed at that place by the bursting of a Shell :—That General Amherst had taken Ticonderoga, and that the french had abandoned Crown Point at his approach, and had retired to

le Isle aux Noix ; and that they had left us in quiet possession of all that part of the Country ; That General Amherst was now making preparations to Besiege le Isle aux Noix, and Fort Chambly :—From this information we plainly saw that all our expectations, with regard to any assistance from General Amherst was finally at an end ; as it was visible that he had work enough on his own hands to employ him the remainder of this Campaign.

However, after our miscarriage at the Fall, as above related, General Wolfe Despatched an Officer to England to acquaint his Majesty with it :—And it seems that the Publick, acquiesed with his conduct, and that they were fully satisfied with his Military talents ; yet, notwithstanding, after all their seeming satisfaction, they were greatly Mortified at our disaster ; as fearing, we should not be able Afterwards to Strike any blow of importance this Campaign towards the Reduction of Canada ; and which had been the Grand Object, pointed out by the Ministry, and Supported by the people.—

Before General Wolfe had perfectly recovered from his late indisposition, which was occasioned, as above related, viz. our late unsuccessful attempt at the heights of Beauport :—He desired the General Officers, in conjunction with the three Admirals to consult together, what might further be done for the good of the Service : And it was the Unanimous opinion of the whole ; that the points of Lévi, and Orleans, should be left in a proper State of defence, and that the rest of the troops should be conveyed up the River ; thinking by that means, to draw the enemy from their intrenched situation, and by that means force them to an engagement.—Upon this plan, General Wolfe, and Admiral Saunders, in conjunction with the Chief Engineer, reconnoitred the Coast, and Situation of the town of Quebec ; and came to this conclusion, from the most minute observations they were able to make, that any attempt could not possibly be made, with the least view of success :—They saw indeed, that the Admiral with the Ships of War, could Silence the Batteries of the Lower town, but that they could not in any degree, produce any considerable effect upon any of the Works of the Upper town ; and therefore, after all, it must end in matters of little or no consequence.—

It begins now to be high time to return to our two Brigades at Montmorenci, under the command of Brigadier General Townshend :—You have been before acquainted with General Wolfe's Ideas of their

Situation, and the advantages we were to reap from its possession, in page 20 of these memoirs.—You have likewise been informed in page 10, how General Wolfe published a Manifesto to the Canadian inhabitants, and of the reception it met withal in page 12, how that they rejected it with contempt; he was therefore fully determined to take cognizance of their proceedings against themselves, and to distress all in his power, all those who had thus set at naught his lenity, and tenderness, towards them; He therefore ordered out Detachments to all parts, within the line of our power, with orders to distress all they could, all those who would not accept of the terms proposed in the said Manifesto:—But at the same time, forbidding under pain of death, the Robbing of any Churches, Convents, or places of Publick Worship; or using ill the persons of Ancient Men, or Women, or helpless children:—All undecent behaviour to Young Women or Virgins, was strictly forbidden, on pain of the Severest punishment:—They were allowed only to despoil them of whatever Moveables they could find in their possession:—They were allowed to Kill, and Destroy all the cattle they could find, of every kind and Species:—They were allowed to burn or destroy all their Magazines, whether of Corn, Hay, Provisions, or whatever kind they might be:—They were allowed to burn or destroy by every means they could, all the Corn, or any other produce of the Field, Garden, or Orchard; or whatever else they found growing on the ground, and which was not collected into Magazines, or Store houses:—They were allowed to burn and destroy all the Houses, whether in the towns, Villages, or plantations, who would not accept of the terms proposed in the Manifesto But all those who accepted of the said terms, were to be furnished with a Safeguard for their protection and defence.

Although the Duty of the Line in the general, was both hard and difficult, as well as dangerous, still it was generally reckoned by all, that the Duty at Montmorenci far exceeded all the rest, both for difficulty and danger:—there was scarcely a day passed without our Working parties being surprized, and very often Routed by the Skulking parties of Canadians and Indians, they often being three or four times our Number; and would sometimes pursue them to the very Skirts of our Camp; and very often sharp Skirmishes would happen between them, which would sometimes be attended with considerable loss, both of killed and wounded:—Again, Our night Guard and picquets, who were posted on the Flank, and Rear of our Camp, for its safeguard, and defence, as

also the Picquets posted along the bank of the river Montmorenci, would generally, during the Night, Be Skirmishing with the picquets of the Enemy, who were posted along the opposite bank ; in which Skirmishes, we nightly lost many men, Killed and Wounded.

Although every Officer, Soldier and Seaman, who were employed in this great and dangerous undertaking, of the Siege of Quebec deserves the highest commendation, yet the following ought not to be omitted a place in these Memoirs.—

A Sergeant being sent on an Out party with a Corporal and twelve men, as usual, to keep as much as possible the Skulking parties, of Canadians and Indians in Awe, who continually kept hovering, Night and Day, about the Flank, and Rear of our Camp ; and often surprized those who went into the Skirts of the Wood to gather Sticks, to dress their victuals, or to get some of the Vegetable herbs to eat with their Salt meat :—The above Party being Skirting, along the Side of the Wood, behind the Camp, on the Road, leading towards Ange Jardiene ; and at the distance of about two English Miles from the Camp ; they were suddenly attacked by a Body of these Cannibals, to the number of two hundred or upwards : The Sergeant finding himself, utterly unable to withstand so great a multitude, he took shelter in a house at a small distance from the place where he was at first attacked, and where he defended himself with the utmost bravery for upwards of four hours ; although they made attempt several times to Storm the house, he always drove them back with considerable loss :—In this distressful Situation, he continued until the Alarm reached the Camp, when a considerable detachment was immediately ordered to march to his Assistance.—The enemy no sooner saw the detachment coming towards them but they immediately retired into the Wood hard by, taking with them their killed and wounded ; which by the quantity of blood appeared to be a considerable number ; The Sergeant was no sooner arrived at the Camp and General Wolfe being then at Montmorenci, but he Sent, and expressed himself so as to shew that he was highly satisfied at his gallant behaviour, by giving him a Commission, which was then vacant, as a reward for his Courage and Gallantry ; as well as to inspire the Sergeants of the Army, with right sentiments of his generosity, to the truly deserving Soldier.—

In consequence of a Resolution, agreed on by a Council of War, the

two Brigades at Montmorenci were ordered to quit that so highly favoured Station and come over to point Levi :—On the fifth of September, the whole, troops and Artillery, were reembarked and transported cross the Bay to point de Levi, where we remained until the Twelfth, without any material occurrence happening.—

It will not be amiss in this place, and before we proceed any further, to take a perspective view of our present Situation ; and compare it, with Quebec, the Object of our toil, and the Army of opposition, by which we are surrounded :—and First,

Let us take a view of our own handful of men, and see to what a small number we are now reduced fit for the field, or even for any other Duty :—Eight thousand at the very first ; how many of those have we lost by Sickness, and rendered intirely useless through hard duty : how many has been killed, and how many more, are as dead to us as thro' their wounds ; especially for the remainder of this Season ; let the Several Regiments and Corps, give in now a return of their numbers wanting to compleat, and the total will be found very large : Again, let them give in a Return of their numbers in the hospitals, and of their convalescent in Camp, and who are equally as unfit for the Field as those in the hospitals ; let all these deductions be made, and the Sum total arising of the number fit for the duty we have still to do, before we are masters of Quebec, will appear very small.—

In the next place let us take a prospective view of the Enemy ; and compare the two prospects together ; and First, let us look on the Situation and Fortifications of the City of Quebec ; and then let us look on the natural strength of the Country : their vast Army of Regular disciplined troops, besides their numerous bodies of Indians, undisciplined Militia, and irregular Canadians, to Surprize and harrass our few troops continually : besides every means to Recruit, to fill up such Vacancies as may happen by death, or Sickness, or killed, or wounded, or by any other means ; as every able inhabitant is obliged to carry Arms for the defence of his Country, and to attend the War when called upon : and then let us sum them up together, take the total, and give in the difference ; and then let every candid Judge consider, and he must own, that such a combination of difficulties being met together, is sufficient to perplex, and discourage the most Resolute, and Intelligent Commander.

Let us next turn our Eyes, and take a view of the present Scheme, for our future operations, and See if we can find in it, the least probability of Success:—We here see in perspective our whole Army formed into three very weak Brigades; we next see them embarked on board the boats of the Fleet; and after they have fallen down the rapid current in a dark night, to the place pointed out for their landing; we see them disembarking on an unknown Shore, under a Steep Ascent; and then we see them climbing up the precipice through Woods, and Craggs on its brow, in order if possible to gain the heights of Abram: Again, let us look on the rapidity of the Current; the Shelviness of the Shore; and the Bank all the way lined with Sentries, and detachments of troops; let us look further, and we shall see the place appointed for our landing so very narrow and difficult; as not to be easily found in the dark; suppose there was no fear of opposition; nay, and was really missed by the first division, when they landed: Again, Suppose the enemy has received the most distant intelligence, or even, do they in the least suspect our design, how easy will it be for them to Marr our Scheme: If the disembarkation of the first Brigade should be put into the least disorder, either before, or after their landing, by any unforeseen, or even, unthought of Accident, either through the darkness of the Night, the rapidity of the Current, the Shelving of the Shore, the badness of the Ground, the want of previous knowledge of the place of Landing, the badness of the ground after landing, the climbing up an unknown precipice, or any obstruction they may meet in the way before they can reach the top, from detachments posted on its brow; any of these, and many more may happen to marr our Scheme and cut off our little Army or the whole be made Prisoners of War, if they should be so honorable.—

Let any person possessed with any degree of Military talents, look on the above Scheme, and view with an intelligent Eye, the dangers, and Seeming impossibilities of duly executing it; and he must really imagine that it proceeded from a distempered Mind, bordering on the brink of desperation.—Notwithstanding all these difficulties, and seeming impossibilities: Our brave Wolfe, with his three Subordinates, no less Brave than himself, Brigadiers, *Monckton*, *Townshend*, and *Murray*; at the head of as good a Set of Officers, although Inferior in Stations, were not inferior in Courage and Military Skill: They were Gentlemen, whom no dangers could dismay, nor the most laborious fatigues weary; who with a handful of Men, no less brave and resolute their leaders; and who

with united heart and voice Cried out, *Death or Victory* :—Nay how could we do otherwise, being at the Heels of Gentlemen, whose whole thirst, equal with their General, and his Subordinates, was for Glory : We had seen them tried, and always found them Sterling : We well knew that they would stand by us to the last extremity ; to *Death or Victory*, and whose lives were not dear to them, when their King and Country required it of them : they were therefore, as well as ourselves, resolved to break through all impediments, nor would they see any dangers, nor shrink back at any difficulties, to attain the end for which we were sent hither :—Therefore, notwithstanding all that has been heretofore premised, we were all resolutely determined to a single man to *Die or Conquer*.

On the twelfth of September, the whole of our little Army being at Point de Levi, the Regiments were assembled and formed into three Brigades after dinner :—About an hour before Sunset, every man received two days allowance of Rum, which he put into his Canteen, and filled it up with water :—But it was verily believed at that time, that no man, except the General Officers, or the Superior Officers of the Regiments, had the least intimation of the duty we were going upon ; although every one believed it to be some very hazardous undertaking :—At dark the General sent a written account of his design, setting forth as brief as possible, the nature of the undertaking, as well as the dangers and difficulties attending it ; as also what it was our Country expected from us ; all this was done in the most private manner imaginable ; the whole of which was couched in such tender and expressive terms, as was sufficient to inspire the most frozen constitution with a thirst for Glory, and with a fervent desire to be a partaker in the event. Our post at Point de Levi, was left with no other Guard but the Sick and Wounded, and Convalescents ; and the whole were assembled and marched by the left to the place appointed for our further operations.

About Midnight, Four Battalions, under the command of Brigadier Monckton ; the Corps of Light Infantry under the command of Colonel Howe ; a detachment of the Highland Regiment commanded by Colonel Simon Fraser, and the Royal American Grenadiers, were all landed in the First disembarkation, under the command of Brigadier General Monckton : General Wolfe in person attended this disembarkation.

The above detachment, as soon as they were embarked in the boats fell down with the current to the place intended for their landing ; they

were particularly careful in their navigation down the River, fearing the same Accident might happen to them here, as happened the thirty-first of July, before the heights of Beauport ; by running on an unknown Shelf of Sand ; this caution therefore was useful to them here ; but coming away from the place of embarkation at the beginning of the Ebb, although they kept pretty close into the North Shore no accident happened, but the overshooting the place which was intended for their landing ; and which was chiefly attributed to the darkness of the night, and the want of some particular distinguishing mark of the real place of landing :—The first boat which put into the Shore, was that wherein was General Wolfe, which no sooner touched the land but he leaped out upon the beach ; and when he saw the difficulty, or rather the seeming impossibility of getting up the Steep Ascent which hung over his head, he cried out : *I don't think we can with any possible means get up here, but however we must use our best endeavor* : As soon as this Division were all landed, the boats returned with all speed for the Second Division, under the command of Brigadier General Townshend ; and by the time they were all landed, and had gained the top of the hill it was broad day light.

No sooner was Colonel Howe landed, but with his Light Infantry, and Colonel Fraser with his detachment of Highlanders, climbed up a Steep, Woody precipice, with unparalled courage and activity, and soon dislodged a detachment planted there on its brow, under the command of a Captain to defend a narrow intrenched path ; and by which only there was any possibility of gaining the heights of Abram :—They had no sooner gained the top of the hill, but they found themselves almost under the Walls of the town ; they therefore formed themselves in order for Battle.

By the time the troops were all landed, and had gained the top of the hill it was broad day light, as mentioned above ; and General Wolfe seeing no appearance of the Enemy's being in Motion, he ordered us to lye flat on the Ground on our Arms ; and which we did, for a considerable time before we perceived the Enemy to make any considerable advance towards us from Beauport ; where, as has been mentioned, throughout the whole work, their whole Army lay intrenched and encamped.

As soon as Monsieur de Montcalm understood that General Wolfe had gained the heights of Abram, and was waiting his approach to give

him Battle ; he very pleasantly said he could not conjecture what General Wolfe would aspire to next ; for he was credibly informed, that he had brought one of his drunken picquets cross the River in the night, and that they had actually gained the heights of Abram ; but says he, we'll take a few of our brave follows and drive then back faster down the hill than they came up, as we did before it at the point of Montmorenci ; they may indeed, stand us a fire or two, but they'll soon take to their heels as they did then ; He therefore after this encouraging speech put his troops in order, and began his march without delay.

As soon as General Wolfe perceived the Enemy to be in motion, and that they were crossing the River Saint Charles, and having taking a particular observation of their disposition, but he began to form his line accordingly.

Six Battalions and the Louisbourg Grenadiers, under the command of Brigadier General Monckton, formed the Right Wing with General Wolfe in person :—The left Wing was commanded by Brigadier General Murray, who was joined by Colonel Howe, as soon as he was returned from taking a Four Gun battery :—Brigadier General Townshend had the Reserve under his care :—

It appearing by the motions of the Enemy, as if they had a design of Flanking our Left Wing ; Brigadier Townshend was immediately sent thither with a Regiment for its Support ; by which means Brigadier Townshend commanded then on the Left ; and Brigadier Murray was removed to the Center, where he commanded during the Action.—As soon as Brigadier Townshend arrived on the left of the line, with the Regiment he took with him, he formed them, *en polence*, which appeared to the enemy to have a double front ; and being afterwards reinforced by two other Battalions, and a Reserve of one Regiment more, he drew them up in Eight Divisions with intervals between them, as large, as possibly he could.

The Right of the Enemy's line was composed of half the Colony troops, with two Battalions of Regulars ;—And a vast number of Savage Canadians and Indians, ready to fall upon our flank in case the left Wing should be forced to give Way.—Their Left Wing was composed of One Battalion of Regulars and the remainder of the Colony troops ; and the bushes in their front, was lined with upwards of Fifteen hundred of their

best Marksmen, who kept a continual fire upon our line for some time before the Battle became general, and which Killed and wounded several of our Officers and Men, till at length we advanced some small parties into the front of our line, who by keeping up a constant fire amongst them, their fire was greatly slackened.—The Center of their line was formed in a Column, by two Regular Regiments; and who were severely galled by a piece of Cannon, which was dragged up the precipice by our Sailors, after the troops were all landed.

After General de Montcalm had formed his line of Battle, and given the necessary instructions, they advanced to the Charge, about Nine o'clock, with great Spirit, and seeming resolution; thinking as General Montcalm had before told, that they had nothing else to do, but run through our line without opposition, turn short upon us, and kill or take prisoners every man; they kept in very good order, altho' their fire was very irregular, and very ill directed:—General Wolfe had given positive Orders, not to fire a Shot until the Enemy should be within Forty Yards of the point of our Bayonets; and which orders were as punctually obeyed, as they were positively given; at which time we poured in such a discharge; and which we continued, with such a regular briskness, as was visible to all, by the good-effect it produced; their seeming resolution was soon quelled, and their courage cooled; General Wolfe at the head of the Twenty eighth Regiment, was always where the attack was hottest; as being sometimes with them, at other times at the head of the Louisbourg Grenadiers,—neither would he be prevailed on to the contrary, although he was often in imminent danger:—Whether he had been particularly distinguished by the enemy for his Gallantry, and herein is hard to determine, but he received a shot in his Wrist; at which however he was not the least intimidated; but himself wrapped it up in his handkerchief, and continued giving orders without the least concern; and advanced at the head of the Louisbourg Grenadiers, with Charged Bayonets, when another shot pierced his breast; and just at the time that the Enemy were giving way, and when we were on the point of gaining the victory:—When the fatal shot took place, and he finding himself unable to stand any longer, he sat down and leaned himself on an Officer, who sat down by him for that purpose; and lived to see the finishing work of providence; who this day wrought so conspicuously in our favour; for at this very juncture Every Regiment, Nay, Every man exerted himself, as if possessed with an extraordinary Spirit, for the

Honour of Old England, calling out aloud to one another, *Death or Victory*; each man striving to fix a Laurel on his own Brow; for while the Right, under the Command of Brigadier General Monckton, who now had the command in chief, pressed on with their Bayonets; Brigadier General Murray pressed on as briskly upon the Enemy's Center; who not being able any longer to withstand the impetuous fierceness of our small handful of men; which at that time did not amount in the whole to Four thousand fighting men, they gave way: Upon which Colonel Fraser with his Highlanders rushed in amongst the thickest of their Column with their broad Swords, with such irresistable fury, that they were driven with a prodigious Slaughter into the town, and their other intrenchments on the other side the River Saint Charles:—As the left of our Army, had not been engaged with that Fury which the Right and Center had; the reasons for which may be supposed, as follows; Brigadier General Townshend, sagaciously advanced some platoons towards them in the Front of their Right Wing; as also Colonel Howe with part of the Corps of Light Infantry had taken possession of some houses, where they defended themselves against the Savages in the front of the Enemy's Right Wing with surprizing courage and resolution; as also he had posted two companies of Light Infantry behind a Wood, who, by frequent Sallies made upon the Enemy's flank, often drove them in heaps before him:—There had been, from their first forming their line, a Body of Savages posted on the right of their Right flank, and which seemed to be as a reserve, in case any disorder had happened upon our left; they were in readiness to fall upon the Light Infantry which covered that flank; but by the assistance of Divine providence, who has the wise government of all events, and the Courage, and Sagacity of Brigadier George Townshend, and the Military talents of Colonel Howe, they were totally prevented from executing their design:—

No sooner did the Officer who supported General Wolfe perceive the Enemy give way, but he immediately Cried out, *They Run, they Run*; but the General, in an ecstasy, as if awoke out of a Sleep, cried out, *Who Runs*, the Officer Answered hastily, *The Enemy*: What, said the General, *Do they Run already: Then I shall die Happy*: and immediately he expired.

No sooner was it reported to Brigadier General Townshend that General Wolfe was dead, and that General Monckton was sorely wounded,

and that the command of the Army devolved on himself ; but he immediately quitted the Left Wing and hastened to the Center of the Line, where Brigadier General Murray commanded ; and finding the Centre pursuing the Enemy, in a confused disorderly manner, he Rallyed them again with all haste ; For at this very Juncture Monsieur Bouganville arrived with a Body of Two thousand men, in the Rear of our Army.

—That General, having been sent the day before by Monsieur de Montcalm to Cape Rouge, to watch the motions of our Fleet, when it went up the River in order to our Landing :—Monsieur Bouganville, being at Cape Rouge, no sooner heard of our having gained the heights of Abram, but he immediately began his march towards it, hoping by that means to fall upon our rear while General Montcalm with the Army in our front, and by that means hem us in between two fires, and either kill or take us all prisoners of War ; but the All wise providence who orders all things, according to the Secret workings of his own will, ordered this also, Monsieur Bouganville arrived too late to have any Share in the Battle ; however, immediately upon his arrival General Townshend, ordered two Battalions, and two pieces of Cannon against him ; but Monsieur Bouganville immediately retired at their approach, and very prudently declined attacking a Conquering Army, who were flushed with the success of having drove one of the greatest Generals of France, with an army of more than *two* times his number before them. *

Having thus through the Assistance of Divine Providence obtained a complete Victory, and taken a great number of Officers prisoners :—That General de Montcalm was Mortally Wounded and carried into Quebec, where he died in three or four days time : and that their Second in command was also mortally wounded, and was carried on board one of our Ships of War, where he died the next day ; besides more than a thousand men where made prisoners of War.—

The day before General Montcalm died, he wrote a letter to General Townshend ;—wherein he extolled the intrepid Valour of the English troops ; their Cool and Regular briskness in action ; the exactness of their discipline ; and abundance more of the like nature ; and at the same time, recommended the prisoners to that generous humanity, so highly distinguished by the British Nation. Not remembering the inhuman toleration, he granted to those Savage Barbarians, the Indians and

Canadians ; who barbarously Scalped and Murdered our Officers and Men in his Own sight under the heights of Beauport, the Thirty first of July, not suffering any to be made prisoners of War ; as is more expressly set down in page 29 of these memoirs : as also, of the pathetic remonstrance made by General Wolfe mentioned in page 13.

In this glorious conquest, we had about Fifty Men, including Officers killed, and about Five hundred wounded :—The Enemy by their own Account had upwards of Five hundred killed and near Five thousand wounded ; besides, what was made prisoners.—

Why we lost so few men in this Battle, and the Enemy such a vast number, may, with very Just reason, be construed as follows :—viz.—That Our line of Battle would admit of us to be drawn up two deep only, from the smallness of our number, as well as the quantity of ground we had to cover to secure our flanks and also our files being at least three feet asunder, and forty yards or more in the intervals between the Battalions ; for which cause Altho' the fire of the enemy was very heavy, yet being ill directed, and our line so very light, the less loss must consequently ensue.—

Again, the enemy's lines, for they had more than One, and which we had not ; were so very heavy with Men ; and their Center formed in Column ; that although our fire was very light, yet being well directed, and as well sustained on their heavy lines, it had the greater effect upon them, and consequently the greater Loss.—

After the enemy had thus shamefully abandoned the field ; and had resigned over to us a compleat victory ; they reinforced the Garrison of Quebec ; and broke up their Camp on the Beauport Side of the River Saint Charles, leaving only a sufficient Guard in their Works, and retired with the remains of their Shattered Army to point au Tremble ; where they intrenched themselves, to mourn over their loss, until the Severity of the Winter compelled them to take Quebec at Trois Rivières, and Montreal.

Let us now Sing unto the Lord a new Song : for he has done marvellous things for us this day : his Right hand, and his holy arm hath gotten us the victory : Now do we know that it is the Lord our God, that hath not only made us, but that he hath this day also preserved and

kept us ; let us therefore with united hearts and voices, Sing forth a Song of praise and Thanksgiving, for this, and all his wonderful mercies, which are visible to all our eyes, and ought continually to remain fresh upon our memory to the latest period for our Lives. Amen.—

General Townshend, now our commander, in chief, who through the assistance of Divine providence, which this day wrought so wonderfully for us : for we may not attribute this Victory to the Arm of Flesh, nor to the Wisdom of the Wisest General, nor to the Fortitude and bravery of the troops, but to him, who is stronger than the strongest ; and Wiser than the Wisest ; and by whom and through whom we have this day gotten possession of that Spot our brave and Gallant General Wolfe thirsted so much after ; and which has cost us so much Blood, and hard Duty.—

The General finding it so advantageously situated for our future operations, he therefore could not prevail with himself to quit it on any account : Although there were several impediments, and obstructions which seemed to lye in the way, between him, and his taking the City of Quebec : As First, the General knew that the whole Enemy's Army was in his Rear and on his flanks, that they had still a numerous Army, which had not been engaged on the day of Battle, and therefore nothing had happened to intimidate them : they had a reserve of Sixteen thousand in their Works at Beauport ; as expecting our main design had been to attack those Works, as soon as we should discover that they had drawn off their men to attack our Picquet, as General Montcalm in derision was pleased to call us on the morning of the Battle ; he well knew also, that there was an impassible Wood in our Rear, and on our flank, to harbour and conceal the Enemy ; not the Canadians and Indians only, but their Regular Army also ; that we lay open to any Surprise, from them, after they should a little overcome their present panick ; they might easily break upon our Rear, and Surprise and make the whole Army prisoners, as we had no place to flee to, nor any possible means of making good our Retreat.—

Notwithstanding all these probable impediments, he was resolved to maintain what had been so dearly purchased, and Besiege the City in form.—It was therefore resolved by a Council of War ; that the three Admirals, Sanders, Holmes, and Durell, who had all along cooperated with the utmost vigour and resolution, in conjunction with the Army, in

all their Fatigues and Dangers, and did all in their power for the good of the Service, as well as honor to their King and Country; it was resolved that these three Admirals should Man all their boats; with the Artillery and Ammunition, and with the Ships of War, Sail up, in order to attack the Lower town; while General Townshend should make an attack upon the Upper town, from the heights of Abram: and endeavor by every possible means; to cut off their communication, and support from the Country.—

As this general assault was to be made on the seventeenth day of September; being the fourth day after the Battle, and by the best account I could gain, the day that General Montcalm died; General Monsieur de Ramsay, the Governor of Quebec, with the Officers and Chief Inhabitants of the City, seeing our preparations, and judging our intention for a General Assault, both by Land and Water; and that all things were then in perfect readiness to begin: And seeing no hopes of Relief;—well knowing that their Army, was so much intimidated in the late battle; that all prospect of saving the City, was vanished; and knowing that we were flushed with our late Success: And also having seen our prowess in the Field; he knew well enough, that he should not be able to stand the double Assault: He therefore by a consultation with the Chief Officers and Citizens, sent out a Flag of Truce with proposals of Capitulation:—

A Council of War was immediately Assembled, and our present situation and Circumstances maturely considered, the Articles were accepted, and Signed without delay. (1)

This Capitulation was granted on the more favorable terms, as the Enemy had really assembled themselves together in the Rear of our Army; as also, being informed by a deserter, who came in, the preceding night, that the enemy had actually rallied their Scattered Army at Cape Rouge; and that Monsieur de Levy had Joined them with two Battalions from Montreal; and that they were determined to fall upon our Rear; whilst they in the town, and from their works on the other side of the River Saint Charles should join them and attack us in Front: As also

(1) A translation of the articles of Capitulation is given in Townshend's Journal, Vol. IV.

they informed us that Monsieur Bouganville, with Eight hundred men, and a large Convoy of provisions, and other Stores, was determined at all events to endeavor to throw himself into the Town:—Again, the Enemy had a very Strong intrenchment on the North side the River Saint Charles, furnished with Redoubts, and Batteries of Cannon, and which were filled with the very best of their Colony troops and as they had demolished the Bridge of Boats; it was therefore impossible for us to dislodge them, and drive them out.—Again,—General Townshend, although he had determined to Besiege the Town in form, he plainly Saw that he could not make a complete investiture from the River Saint Laurence, to the River Saint Charles, and that, without that, he could not cut off their communication with the Country:—Again, Our troops began daily to diminish through Sickness, and were sent to the hospitals where great numbers died; and that our small Army was greatly decreased, and was decreasing daily, both in Officers and men:—He knew also, that the Season of the year was too far advanced for any future operations of consequence; that the time for Field duty was wearing away apace, and that in a very Short time it would be insupportable; especially for his few men, who were worn out with hard Duty, and Fatigue; and that in a few days the Fleet, must be forced to quit their Station for the Season, and leave the navigation of the River Saint Laurence open to the Enemy—All these things being maturely, and deliberately considered, it was unanimously agreed by the Council of War to accept of the forementioned Articles of Capitulation.—

No sooner was the Capitulation signed but General Townshend sent a detachment to take possession of the town on the Land Side, while Admiral Sanders sent an Officer with a Body of Seamen to take possession of the Lower town.—

The next day the prisoners were embarked on board the transports, in order to be sent to France.—

As soon as the Capitulation was Signed, and published; a great number of the inhabitants came in from the Country, round about the neighborhood of Quebec; and all down the River Saint Laurence, for more than two hundred miles, and brought in their Arms, and took the Oath of Allegiance to the English Government; many of which were loyal Subjects, but it was generally believed that many were not.—

Let the following observation be duly considered, and it will be reasonable to suppose ;—that had General de Montcalm survived the day of Battle, that the City of Quebec had not been so soon, nor tamely surrendered to such a pitiful handful of men, as he saw we then had ; he clearly saw at that time that we had our Whole Army in the field, instead of a small picquet, as he pleasantly insinuated to his men the morning of the battle, as had been observed in page 53.—He well knew that we were wearied out with hard duty, and that we must have sustained a considerable loss in the Action ; and that we had no possibility of supplying ourselves with fresh men, and that we could not much longer be able to keep the field against them ; as well knowing that in a very little time we must be forced to draw off our troops, through the rigour of the Season, which was approaching apace, whether we were willing or not : —He also knew that in a very short time, the Navigation of the River Saint Laurence must again be left open to them : as our Fleet must be forced to quit the Station for the Season, and take with them their troops for Winter quarters :—He also knew, that the Fortifications of the City, on the Land Side were impregnable against our few men ; that they would be able to stand both a longer, and a Stronger Siege, than we should be able to make ; he knew as well as we that we were not able to invest the place round about, and that thereby a communication would always be open with the Country by the River Saint Charles.—But to return.—

Let us in this place take a view, and seriously consider how far Divine Providence may be thought to have any hand in the following remarkable occurrence ; and which ought to be the more particularly considered as being the introduction to our last, and final attempt against Quebec, and which, had it miscarried, we had never another to make this Season : and which through the assistance of God's good providence proved the Crown of all our Labours :—and which was as follows :—

In the evening of the twelfth of September, all things being appointed, and gotten into perfect readiness, for the execution of our late attempt, as mentioned at large in page 47 and following pages.—It happened in the Evening of the same day, that two deserters came in from the enemy, and who were carried on Board one of His Majesty's Ships of War, then lying at Anchor, above the Town : These men told the Captain of the Ship ; that Monsieur de Bougainville was that very

day detached by General de Montcalm, with a considerable body of troops to fetch down a large convoy of Provisions and other Stores, which began to be greatly wanted in the town of Quebec ; and that they were expected to come down the River that night in boats ; but what number of troops were to be the guard of this Convoy, they could not tell ;—These two men being on the Deck among the Sailors, and perceiving our Boats coming down the River, with the troops on board, in order for landing, and supposing them to be Monsieur Bouganville's, they called out aloud to the Captain of the Ship and told him that they were close to him :—The Captain having never been acquainted with General Wolfe's design, and taking them to be the forementioned Convoy, immediately pointed his Guns, and had actually fired upon them ; if General Wolfe, who was in the headmost boat, and perceiving an uncommon bustle on board the Ship, had not rowed up to them and undeceived them, by acquainting them with his plan.—Had this Accident taken place, besides the damage it would have done the boats, and the troops on board them ; it also would have given the Alarm ; Reached the Town, and in all likelihood, our whole Scheme have been prevented :—Again,—the Enemy had all along the Shore, on the Banks of the River, above the town ; especially the North Shore, such a great number of small detachments posted, that the most minute moving of our Shipping could not pass undiscovered, and the Alarm instantly given.

I shall give another plain instance that the hand of providence was clearly conspicuous in this attempt of landing, and which is this :—The very first boat that passed ; and it being that in which was General Wolfe ; was challenged by one of the Sentries on the Shore, with *who comes there ?* A Captain of the Highlanders being in the Boat ; and having the french tongue ; very perfect answered without hesitation, *the French*, and was bidden to pass :—The same Challenge was made by the next Sentry, and who received the same answer, but with this addition *What Regiment ?* and which was as readily Answered *The Queens*, and which fortunately happened to be right : It being the Queen's Regiment that had been appointed to escort the above Convoy down the River to Quebec ; and which was, as it were, a Countersign to those detachments posted along the Bank on the North Shore :—On all duties, some are abundantly more alert than others, so it happened here, the Sentry having given the customary challenge, and received the Answers accordingly, as above, was further interrogated, *why don't you answer with a*

louder voice ? Hush, says he, Be silent, I am afraid of being overheard by the English.—So through the Assistance of divine providence the Sentries were all passed, and we arrived at the place appointed for our landing without discovery :—Now let us take a moments time to consider, and we shall find the unerring hand of providence clearly manifest in this also :—Had the Captain erred in the least particular in any of his Answers, or had he made the least hesitation when he was asked what Regiment ; he knew nothing about the Queen's Regiment being in the escort, nor did he know anything of a Convoy expected down the River : what could point out these answers to him, but the Great Master of Speech : Or even, if he had not spoke his answers, with the proper Accent of the french language, there would have been room sufficient for Suspicion, and have been discovered.

No sooner were the Articles of Capitulation Signed, but General Townshend dispatched Colonel Hale in the Alcide Ship of War, with News to his Majesty.

The City of Quebec, and a great part of Canada ; especially to the Eastward, with the Navigation of the River Saint Laurence, being now happily in the possession of His Majesty King George ; whom may God grant long to enjoy it in peace and happiness : And General Townshend having made the necessary dispositions, and regulations for the Garrison ; and given his instructions to Brigadier General Murray, in whose hands he committed the Government of Quebec : As Brigadier General Monckton intended to go to New York, to be cured of the wounds he had received in the late Battle ; and troops having marched into Quebec on the twenty-ninth of September for the Winter quarters : that he (General Townshend) and Colonel Howe, embarked on board the Fleet, and left Quebec about the middle of October, One thousand, seven hundred and fifty-nine, taking with them the remains of our late Brave and Gallant Commander, Major General James Wolfe.—

It would better become the pen of a Homer, or a Virgil A Pope, or an Addison, to give a Description, and Shew forth the praises, due to All the Officers and Men : both in the Land and Sea Service, who were employed in this Glorious Expedition up the River Saint Laurence against Quebec ; than that of a *Poor Soldier*, whose chief talent extends no further than his common duty.—When we look on the Cool, Regular

manner, both of Receiving and Executing their Orders :—Their Uncommon hard and dangerous Duties, without the least Murmur or Complaint :—Their Lenity, and tender compassion towards such of the Enemy as fell into their hands :—Their particular exactness, and alacrity in executing every command :—But above All their Cool, Intrepid, Resolute behaviour in every Attack, deserves the highest commendations ; every one striving to fix a Laurel on his own brow :—Let us look through the Annals of Antiquity :—Let us Search the records of former Ages, and see whether we can find so great a Conquest, in so short a time, by so small a number of Men, so extensive a Country, and so much work done, with Eight thousand men. Even, at the very first beginning :—to what number then must we be reduced, after all our killed and Wounded, our numbers who died of Sickness, the concomitant badge of hard Duty : What number then I say can it be expected we must have at the finishing stroke of this great Work : And which was all done between the twenty-fifth day of June, and the Eighteenth day of September, One thousand, Seven hundred and Fifty nine.

Thus ends the Siege of Quebec.

Having thus happily finished the great plan of operations formed by the Ministry, as in page 3, of these Memoirs ; and that without any other assistance but the Almighty God, who at all time is ready to assist those who call upon him, and put their whole trust and confidence in him in the needful time of trouble : It may reasonably be supposed, that Gideon, by his Military talents, in the wise disposition of his small Army of three hundred men ; nor was it by the power or strength of their Arm as men, that overthrew the whole Army of Midian, and took prisoners their two Kings, nor was it the Stone from the Sling of David, as cast by the Arm of David, by being more mighty than any other man in Sauls Army ; but as his Arm was strengthened, and the Stone directed by the Almighty power, and Wisdom of God : Nor was it the power of the fleshy Arm of Jonathan, and his Armour bearer, that put to flight the whole Army of the Philistines ; nor may we attribute the forming the Plan of our late operations, to the Wisdom and Sagacity of our Ministry who projected it, any more than the executing to the power of our fleshy Arm : If we suppose anything otherwise than that we were only instruments in the hands of God, in order to pull down the pride and haughtiness of our Enemies, we must rob God of his honour : And

that we cannot do without the guilt of blasphemy :—We are informed in the plan, in page 3, Of General Amherst, and Brigadier General Poideaux's coming to our assistance, as soon as they should have finished the different tasks they were sent about : not in the least considering, the numberless impediments, and obstructions, that lay in both their ways, to hinder them from coming to our assistance, as mentioned in pages 6 and 7.—However to Proceed.—

Having thus happily finished the work appointed for us for this Campaign, and are at Winter Quarters, in the City of Quebec ; although I cannot say in the peaceable possession of it, and its neighborhood, as the following pages of these Memoirs, will evidently testify the contrary : It will therefore not be amiss to give a small Sketch of the Nature of our Duty, and the intolerable hardships we went through as well as the difficulties we met withal to keep possession of our late glorious Conquest.—

We marched into Quebec on the twenty-ninth of September, and Secured ourselves in it, in the best manner we were able ; by posting a large number of detachments, round about, in the Skirts of the Woods, which surrounded the town on all Sides, except the East, that having the open Bay in its Front ; The detachments were to watch the motions of the Enemy's Army, who for some time Lay hovering round about the Garrison ; as also to be a check upon their Skulking Parties of Indians and Canadiens ; who during the Winter Season were a great disturbance to the Garrison, as well as to the Inhabitants, within the Country towns, and Plantations, who had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the English Government.

Although, a vast number of the Canadians, as well as the French inhabitants who had settled in Canada ; as well as in the towns and villages, as the plantations round about the town, as well as all the way down the River Saint Laurence, and in short all the way within the Circle of our Conquest, brought in their Arms daily, and took the Oath of Allegiance to Brigadier General Murray the Governor ; as also a great number within the said circuit laid down their Arms, and took the oath of Neutrality tendered to them : Notwithstanding all this humiliation of the Canadians, there was all the reason in the World to believe that great numbers, of them, broke that Faith, and were private Enemies to the Interest of Great Britain, which they had sworn to maintain ; that

they kept a secret correspondance with the Enemy; and gave them all the intelligence in their power, of our situation and Strength, as well as the condition of our troops; as also, of the Strength, and route of our detachments, and small reconnoitring parties, posted in the Woods, round about the Garrison, as before mentioned.—

In the month of October, a detachment of Six hundred men, with Officers and non Commissioned Officers in proportion; the whole being under the command of a Brigadier: This detachment was ordered to some miles distance from the Garrison, to Subdue or disperse a large body of the Enemy, who were assembled in a wood, on the North side of the town, to the great disturbance of those, who had taken the Oaths of Allegiance, and Neutrality; by plundering them of what little Substance they had left; as also, by burning and destroying their habitations:— This detachment had no sooner arrived to the place of their destination; and the head Quarters, or place of rendezvous fixed, but they were immediately dispersed into smaller detachments, under the command of proper Officers, and those detachments, are still dispersed into smaller parties, under the command of Non Commissioned Officers, and still advanced of the Party, from whence they were detached; but so posted— as to have a communication open with each other, and with the Main Body, so as to assist each other as occasion may require.

In this manner was a Sergeant of the Fifty Eighth Regiment posted, with a Corporal and Twelve men (that being the usual number for a Sergeant's party) in an Advanced situation, when a large body of the Enemy got between him and the party from when he was detached; by which, his Retreat, and Support were both intirely cut off, and hisself and party left to the tender mercy of the enemy, for they made none prisoners of War, but Massacred and Scalped all who unfortunately fell into their hands:—Notwithstanding his hopeless, as well as helpless situation, and which must appear so extraordinary distressful, yet by his Sagacity and Military talents, added to the assistance of divine providence, who inspired him with an undaunted courage and resolution at that time more particularly, than at any other in his remembrance, he behaved in such a manner under it, that the Fourth day after he had been so abandoned he arrived at Quebec with his party; with the loss of only One man Killed, and One so badly Wounded, that he was forced to leave him behind.

Brigadier General Murray sent for him as soon as he arrived, and promised to give him the first vacant Commission that should happen, and which he as moderately refused ; alledging at the same time, that he had done no more than his Duty : and that it was the duty of everyone in the like circumstances, to have done the same :—and that as his Education would not entitle him to be a Companion for Gentlemen ; if his Excellency pleased to make him any other acknowledgment, if he thought him worthy of any mark of his favour he should be highly satisfied with it, be what it would ; the General pressed him to name what it should be, telling him at the same time, that he had made himself worthy of the highest mark of his favour :—The Sergeant was so much confounded at the high commendation given him by the General, that he knew not what to say ; but recommended it to his Excellency to chuse for him, what he pleased it should be ; begging at the same time that if please God, he should live to be discharged from the Service, that his Excellency would be pleased to recommend him to his Majesty, that he might be appointed Master Gunner of the Garrison of Carlisle (that being the place of his Nativity) in Addition to his pension : And which his Excellency did accordingly : And at the same time ordered the Paymaster General to give him Thirty Guineas for his Gallant behaviour and unparalleled modesty.

By this time our small reconnoitring detachments began to appear terrible among the Skulking parties of Canadians and Indians ; they would never dare to face them in an open plain ; although very often they would be greatly Superior in number ; at our approach they would always betake themselves within the Skirts of the Wood and lye concealed behind the trees and bushes till we were within their reach, and then suddenly fire upon us, and rush out upon us before we would be prepared to receive them ; and very often would beset us round about, and do us considerable damage before we were aware of them ; till at length, they learned us to be as good hunters as themselves, and very often, a small number of our men, would put to flight a considerable party of those Cannibals.—

From our first entrance in the Town of Quebec, our Orders were every night repeated, to lye on our Arms : No Officer, or Soldier, unless he was Sick, was allowed to undress, or go to Bed ; Nor were we on any pretence, allowed to put off our Accoutrements during the night : And

which was an exceeding great hardship to such men as had been out in the Woods, sometimes, for two, or three nights, together, hunting the Savages; so that instead of taking either Ease, or Refreshment, they were, Still in a manner, on Duty, which, in a little time, wore them out, that great Numbers fell Sick and Died: by which precaution however we were always in readiness to turn out at a Moment's warning, without the least hurry or confusion, in case of a Surprise.

—However insignificant, and trifling we thought this precaution at the time, we went through the fatigue of it, we found it at length to be of the utmost consequence; for in the night of the thirtieth of January, One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty; the River Saint Laurence, being then frozen over, so as to be able to bear the heaviest Carriages; we were alarmed at Midnight, by a Strong Body of the Enemy, having Surprized, and taken our Post at Point de Levi; and that they were actually attempting to cross the River Saint Laurence on the Ice, to Attack our Works in the Lower town, and take them by Assault.

The Alarm being given, we were instantly assembled on our Regimental parades, from whence we marched down on the ice; where after an obstinate engagement of more than two hours, at length the Enemy gave way: and soon after made a general Retreat; taking along with them their killed and Wounded, which appeared by the quantity of blood on the Ice, and on the Shore, at point de Levi, to be a considerable number. —We had several men killed, and wounded in this engagement, and a party of Light Infantry taken prisoners; some of which Joined us again, after the Capitulation of Montreal.

From the above, nothing extraordinary happened, worth remarking in these Memoirs, but the common course of hunger and hard Duty; the reason and of which take as follows:—As the Canadian Inhabitants had suffered exceedingly during the late Campaign, and had lost all they had; either by their Own people plundering them, and destroying their Substance on the one hand; and We, who were their Enemies, destroying all we came near on the other hand, agreeable to General Wolfe's orders, for that purpose, in Page 42, of these Memoirs, that they were now in the deepest distress, even for common nourishment:—General Murray therefore, out a humane, and tender regard to their calamities, ordered One day's provisions do be Stopped weekly from each Officer and Soldier, and to be distributed amongst the inhabitants, according to their number

in family for their support :—I mean those only who had taken the Oath of Allegiance : although at the same time it was readily believed, that a great many of those who Eat our provisions, were traitors to us, and ready to lift up their heel against us, as far as they were able ; However that may be, the Soldiers out of a tender, and compassionate regard for their fellow Creatures, willingly acquiesced with the above order, and parted freely from their Subsistence for them : It must be reasonably supposed, that through the above Stoppage, the troops suffered exceedingly, as the whole allowance, had it been issued to them, would have been much too small ; considering the hardness of the duty, and nothing to be bought for money, supposing we had money, which we had not ; there being no money there, to give us our Pay ; and no remittance could be made from England for Money to pay the Troops, until the Winter following : however that be, as it was, there never was heard the least Murmuring or Complaint amongst the men for this donation ; and in the general they bore their distresses with the patience of a Stoick, although in a little time, through the hardness of their Duty ; the Severity of the Weather, and the Want of provisions, and nourishment, we were reduced to mere Skeletons.

We had amongst us also during the Winter Season an inveterate Scurvey, and which proved Mortal to Numbers, especially to the Wounded men.—

On the Twenty-seventh of April, One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty, in the forenoon, intelligence was brought to General Murray, that the whole french Army consisting of Regulars, Canadians, and Indians, to the number of twenty thousand or upwards, were coming down in a body from Montreal :—Trois Rivieres, and other ports up the River Saint Laurence ; and that they were determined to Besiege, and retake Quebec, before any Succour can arrive, or any reinforcement from England, can come to our assistance : As also that all necessarys for carrying on the Siege, was already arrived at Point au Tremble, in readiness to drop down the river to the Landing place, as soon as the Army should arrive on the heights of Abram :—General Murray no sooner received the above intelligence, but he Assembled the whole Garrison, amounting in the whole, to about three thousand men, including Officers, and acquainted them with it, as also with his design to march out against them, and give them battle : And then marched out immediately, between Two and

three English Miles on the Road leading to Saint Foix, and waited there for the French General to Advance, and give him battle.—General de Levy, for reasons best known to himself, Sent word to General Murray, that he should not come out from Saint Foix that day, but that he would be ready for him the next morning on the heights of Abram, as early as he liked : It rained very hard all that Afternoon, and we marched back to the Garrison, wet to the Skin.—

Next morning, being the twenty-eighth of April, according to the French General's appointment, we were again assembled ;—about Seven o'clock, and marched out of the town, in order for the Battel :—But for any man, who was the least acquainted with the duty we were going upon, would have shuddered at the Sight ; or have really thought that General Murray, must certainly be possessed with a Spirit of enthusiasm ; to have seen such a poor pitiful handful of have Starved, Scorbutic Skeletons ; many of whom had laid by their Crutches on the occasion : and would not be prevailed on to stay behind, although many of them were absolutely forbidden, and would not be suffered to fall in the ranks with the Men ; and who followed us out of the Gates in the Rear, and fell in when we formed the line of Battel :—To See us drawn out to fight an Army of all healthy, Strong, young men, the Flower of their whole Army, consisting of between Five and Six and twenty thousand men, including their Indians, and irregular Canadians, it must appear to every man possessed with the least Share of Reason, to be a Rash enterprize, without any seeming prospect of anything but the total destruction of the whole Army, with the immediate loss of the City : When it was our duty considering the smallness of our number, and the weakness of our men ; even of those who were in the best health, to have kept intirely within the Walls of the Garrison, have put that into the best state of defence we could, and kept ourselves on the defensive as much as possible, and Supported and maintained it to the last extremity :—However unequal, and unable as we were for the undertaking, both from our bodily weakness, as well as the smallness of our number ; it did not appear that either the Officers, or Men were in the least intimidated, as trusting in the same good providence, that had gained us that glorious victory on the same ground, the thirteenth of the preceding September ; they were unwilling to tamely surrender, what they had so gloriously gotten, and being animated with the same Zeal, they went out with the same courage and Resolution they did then, and were determined to a Man to

Conquer or Die:—We took with us into the Field a vast number of intrenching tools, as also Twenty brass Field pieces; General Murray supposing the Enemy would have no Artillery with them in the Field, although he had been informed that they had brought all implements requisite for a Siege as low as Point au Tremble; and which Artillery were planted two on the Right flank of each Battalion; and so long as we had Ammunition to Support them we maintained our ground, and obliged their Front Line to Press so hard upon their Rear, as to force them into the Skirts of the Wood, which was close behind them:—They no sooner perceived that our Artillery Slackened their fire but they began to wax more bold, and advanced so much as to allow the Rear Line to resume their former ground, and as soon as they found that our Artillery had intirely ceased, and that our Musquetry was so very light, that they Advanced boldly upon us, which in a little time forced us to give way; and which we did gradually for some time, keeping a good front towards them: but through the smallness of our number, and the quantity of ground we had to cover, to secure the flanks of our line, the intervals between the Battalions, so excessive large, and the Cannon ceased firing, which used to cover those intervals, they advanced and broke in hastily upon us, like a hasty torrent from a lofty precipice and got into our front through those intervals, and which obliged us to retire in confusion each one striving to shift for himself, and yet under the fire of the Garrison in the best manner he was able; leaving beind us all our Artillery, and about a thousand as brave men as ever faced an Enemy in the Field, to the Enemy, as a trophy of their victory.

Let us here look back, and take a cursory glance of our late unhappy, and unfortunate loss, and we shall see several things worthy of Observation; and First, all the while we maintained the fire of our Artillery, they dare not face us in the open plain; but pressed themselves into the Skirts of the wood in their Rear; from which it appears plainly that if our Ammunition waggons could have gotten up to us, and Supplied us with Ammunition, they would not have drove us with that intolerable precipitation into the town; although it appeared plainly, that there was no possibility of making anything towards a victory: but the Ammunition waggons were hardly no sooner out of the Gates, but they were bogged in deep pits of Snow, and therefore intirely unable to come up to us, to our assistance: which if they had, and we had Retreated leisurely, we should not have Sustained so great a loss, as we did, as a great part

of our loss,—was occasioned by the weakness of the men, either through Wounds, Scurvey, Sickness, or real want of the common necessities of Support ; that they were faint, and intirely unable for a precipitate flight, as mentioned in page 90 :—Again,—it had been remarked, that we took a vast number of intrenching tools with us into the Field, and where we left them for the use of the Enemy : Had we used those intrenching tools ourselves, and thrown up a light intrenchment at the Front of each Regiment, on the ground where we formed our line of Battle, and Planted the Guns which were allowed to each Battalion, on each flank one, or if necessary to our situation, if they had been both on One flank ; what with our being under the Fire of the Garrison, and our own Artillery, and Musquetry from our intrenched situation, we could have kept the enemy at a considerable distance until such time as they landed their Artillery, and brought them up against us ; as also from thence, we could easily have supplied our Cannon, or men with what Ammunition they might want, and at last have retired into the Town, with very little or no loss : besides all this, in our front was an open level plain, between us and the Enemy, and from which our Guns from the town would have fired over our heads and covered the whole plain, and by that means kept them from storming our trenches, had they ever made the Attempt :—Again, Although our men were as Zealous for the Service of their Country, and the honour of His Majesty, as they were in that Battle fought on the same ground the thirteenth of the preceeding September ; still they considered also, that we had not so many men in the field as we had then ; and that although they were as desirous of conquest as they were then, they were not so well able as they were then ; through the reason given in page 87 and 88 and that the Enemy had a greater number in the Field than they had that Battle.

Let it be further considered and we shall find no honour could have arisen to General Murray, for such mad, enthusiastic Zeal ; had our Ammunition waggons arrived, and we had been supplied with Ammunition, what we could use, we could never have drove them off further than into the Skirt of the Wood close in their Rear ; and suppose after we were sufficiently wearied, we had made good our Retreat at leisure, and had brought in all our wounded and weak men with us into the town, they would notwithstanding this, have broken ground against us the same night they did :—Indeed it must be confessed that it is the duty of a General commanding an Army, to form every Scheme, and draw every

plan, and to exert every faculty for the service of his Country ; but it may be as readily believed that no State ever yet gave his General Order to throw away the lives of his men without some seeming probability of success :—indeed General Murray may plead that he endeavoured to tread in the steps of his predecessor General Wolfe, who so much had his Country's service at heart, he well knew he was not sent to any other purpose but make a conquest, and he as well knew it could not be done by intrenching his Camp and keeping himself, and Army on the defensive, he knew he must keep them in perpetual motion ; and although he made that unsuccessful attempt at the heights of Beauport, he did it with a view of getting nearer the business he was sent upon, than of making a Conquest ; although it be allowed by all that there seemed to be as little probability of his success as General Murray could have in striving to Conquer the french Army now before the Walls of Quebec :—The Conquest was already made, we had done the work the Government had sent us about, not through our own Strength, but through the assistance of the overruling providence ; it was therefore General Murray's duty to use all possible means to preserve it, and to defend it to the last extremity, and not lavishly to throw away such brave men, on a vain delusion, of gaining to himself great honour.—

But to proceed.—

No sooner had the enemy drove us into the town, and become masters of the heights of Abram, but they began to besiege it in Form, by opening their Trenches ; and by the tenth of May, they had One Bomb Battery, and Two Batteries of Cannon ready, and which they opened on the Eleventh with great Spirit :—The First day and night they kept up a severe fire upon the town both of Shot and Shells ; as also the Second ; but not so hot as the first, but every day afterwards they Slackened their fire considerably ; for meeting with a superior fire from the Garrison than they expected ; they slackened daily after the first day ; till at length it was reduced to almost nothing but a Blockade. Notwithstanding their thus slackening their Fire ; and supposing they had only turned the Siege into A Blockade, as it began to be suspected they would. We had all the reason in the World to believe that if their Fleet had gotten the Navigation of the River Saint Laurence before ours, we could never have supported ourselves against so powerful an Army as they had against the town ; but that some time or other they would take it by

Assault, either at the Upper, or Lower town, or both, in spite of our best endeavors to the contrary :—

Through the severity of the Winter; and which happened to be uncommonly severe, according to the account of the Inhabitants, who were accustomed to it; the scantiness of provisions the uncommon hardness of the Duty, in reconnoitring the Woods, day and night after the Skulking parties of Savages, and Canadians, as has been before mentioned through these impediments, and many others which could be named, the General had been kept from putting the Garrison into that State of defence which he knew it required on the Land side especially; and without which he knew it would not be able to stand a Siege of any considerable force; and which he had all the reason in the world to expect early in the Spring, as it happened; yet notwithstanding all the forementioned impediments, through the alacrity of the Officers and Soldiers, who were all equally inured to hardships, and hard duty with the Common Soldiers, the work was finished in an astonishing manner before the enemy opened their Batteries against the town. (None but those who were present on the Spot, can imagine the grief of heart the Soldiers felt, to See their Officers doing the common labour of the Soldier, equal with themselves; to see them yoked in the harness dragging up Cannon from the Lower town, the same as themselves :—to see Gentlemen who were set over them by His Majesty, to command and keep them, to their duty, to be at Work at the Batteries, with the Barrow, Pickax, and Spade, with the same Ardour as themselves) these were noble examples for Gentlemen to lay aside all Rigid authority, and Superiority, when His Majesty's Service required it, and ought to be commended rather than ridiculed; as it shews no meanness but a true Spirit of Patriotism, and is highly praise worthy: but indeed at this time the men had no need of Commanders, being Actuated by a Spirit of Zeal for the Service, and the example of their Officers, every one was striving who should out do his fellow, The Governor himself encouraged us all in his power, by giving us double allowance of provisions, and double allowance of Rum.

Let us in this place look on ourselves, almost in as deep distress as we could be, considering all things in their proper order; although the men in the Garrison were in as high spirits as the nature of their situation at present would in any way permit them to be; they were still fearful

that the toil and labour of our last Campaign could be wrested out of our hands, and all the honour we had before gained, would be turned to a shameful ridicule ; and we ourselves be deprived of the opportunity of shaking off the Scandal by any future operation in the course of the present War :—Again,—Let our Wills be ever so good, and our Spirits ever so high, we could see no possibility of Standing out long against their Powerful Army ; in case they made an Assault, both on the Upper and lower Towns at the same time, so it had been agreed on by a Council of War when we lay on the same ground, before they Surrendered to us by Capitulation : We had taken away the defence of the lower town to support our Works on the land side and we had not a sufficiency of men to support those works with Musquetry, having ourselves lost so many brave Officers and men, in our late defeat, that although they were too weak and unable for the Field, they would have been very serviceable in the Garrison, by manning our Batteries which we, who were better able could have done the laborious, and dangerous duty of the Siege : But let us turn ourselves, and with the deepest humiliation, and reverence, adore that All Seeing providence, whose Piercing Eye Saw our distresses, and in the needful time of our trouble sent us comfort ; for on the Ninth of May the Lowestaff arrived, and brought us the Joyful intelligence that Commodore Swanton was safe arrived in the River Saint Laurence, with a Squadron from England for our Support :—and on the fifteenth he actually, and happily arrived, and came to an Anchor before the town : —But who can express the joy which we felt on this occasion ; none but we who needed the benefit arising from it ; Nay, on the occasion, great numbers of the inhabitants appeared to be well satisfied, and Joined, or seemed to join with us in it, so that it was universal : Immediately upon their arrival the Commodore came ashore and paid his respects to the Governor, which were very short ; As soon as the first Salutations were over ; the Governor made him acquainted with the present situation of the Garrison, and requested, that some ships might be ordered above the town, and if possible destroy the Enemy's Fleet, who acted in Concert with their Army in besieging the Garrison :—

The Enemy's fleet consisted of two large Frigates, two Armed ships, and a great number of smaller vessels :—

The Commodore, immediately upon the General's request ordered the Lowestaff and Diana to Ship their Cables, and attack them without

delay :—This was on the night of the fifteenth of May ; a night to be had in remembrance, in which the Almighty his good providence wrought such wonderful things for us : The Lowestaffe and Diana, according to the Commander's directions immediately slipped their Cables and sailed above the town :—The Enemy no sooner perceived them to be in motion, and guessing at their design, by seeing them coming up the River towards them, but they immediately cut their Cables and fled in the utmost confusion :—One of the Frigates in the fright, was drove on a Rock and Stove, very near the place where she had been Stationed ; the other Frigate was run ashore, at Point au Tremble ; which the Enemy themselves set on fire, and burnt down to the Water's edge before they left her, And all the other vessels were taken or destroyed.

The Army on shore, no sooner saw the disorder and confusion among their own Ships and Vessels, and having also received intelligence, that another strong fleet was coming up the River to our assistance, under the command of Lord Colville, with a large reinforcement of troops on board ; and dreading the intrepid, and undaunted Spirit of General Murray, and his Wolves, as they were pleased to call us, in derision, like General de Montcalm was pleased to call us on the morning of the Battle, Wolfe's drunken picquet ; but they immediately raised the Siege and fled with the utmost precipitation and confusion ; leaving behind them all their Besieging Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions and intrenching tools :—This Evolution of the Enemy's happened in the morning of the sixteenth of May ; the morning after the arrival of Commodore Swanton, and the Nineteenth day after their first opening of the trenches, and the Sixth after the opening of their Batteries against the town :—They were no sooner gone but intelligence was brought to General Murray, of their precipitate departure ; that they had actually abandoned the Siege and were gone off, but he immediately assembled all the choice men in the Garrison, and pursued hard after them, whereby to get revenge for our late discomfiture on the Twenty eighth of April ; but they had gotten too much the Start of us, and were beyond our reach, having passed the River Cape Rouge, before we could come up with them :—However we fell in with the Baggage, and took all their Tents, Thirty-four pieces of iron, and ten Brass Cannon, Six Mortars, Four petards, Scalding ladders, intrenching tools, etc., without number, and made their Guard prisoners of War.—

As soon as Commander Swanton had given directions in regard to

the operations of the two ships above mentioned; General Murray also formed a plan for the operations of the Garrison, at the same time, as follows :—

That himself with a chosen body of men, should be in readiness to issue out of the Gates, as soon as our Ships should have begun the Attack upon the Ships of the Enemy, destroy their Works, and then endeavor if possible to penetrate into their Camp, and so take full satisfaction for our late defeat.

It will not be improper to mention in these Memoirs an occurrence which happened the day of our late defeat, and which was as follows :— viz :—

The Enemy of the Twenty-seventh of April, after we returned to the Garrison, as mentioned in page 89, after General de Levy sent us word to meet him there next morning : Captain Donald MacDonald, being truly animated with Zeal for His Majesty's Service, as well as to procure a laurel for his own Brow ; however he was a good Soldier, a Brave Officer, and a Bold, Enterprizing man ; He formed to himself, a Company of Volunteers, composed of four Subalterns, Five Serjeants, Five Corporals, and One Hundred men, with himself at the head of them :—This Company was to precede the Light Infantry, in the front of the line, on the Right Flank, and begin the Attack while the Line of Battle should be forming ;—They did so ; they engaged the Savage Indians and Canadians, who were advanced in the front of the Enemy's Right Flank, and posted under some Rocks and Bushes, and intirely out of the Sight of Captain Mac donald, or any of his Men, and quite unsuspected by them, and by whom they were put into disorder the very first fire, and not able to recover themselves on a Sudden, after such an unsuspected surprize ; and a Regiment of french Regulars coming up instantly upon them, Captain Macdonald and his whole Company, Officers and Men, were cut off, except Five or Six private men ; they were all kiilled, before the Light Infantry could get up to their assistance.

The Enemy having raized the Siege and laid aside all hopes of ever repossessing Quebec, or any part of its territories, which they so shamefully had lost the preceeding Summer : And that we were again left in the quiet possession of all the Eastern part of Canada, as well as the whole Navigation of the River Saint Laurence ; especially below Quebec ;

and having passed the River Cape Rouge as before observed, and arrived at Jacques Quarteire, and Examining into the present state of their Affairs, and casting up the Account they found the Sum total of their losses to Stand thus:—First they had lost Quebec and all its dependencies without redemption; and next they had lost the navigation of the River Saint Laurence, and there by all their traffick and Support from France, or any other part of Europe; They could not complain of losing many of their men, for they never could be prevailed on to give us any Battle, unless they were under the cover of their intrenchments, or other places of concealment: They also found in their Account, that a vast number of the Canadians, and Inhabitants had laid down their Arms and had either taken the Oath of Allegiance, or were become Neuters; and what more may be still added to the Account, our late Siezure at Cape Rouge, in our pursuit after them, when they abandoned the Siege of Quebec, where they lost almost every implement of War they were possessed of, both for the Field, as well as for a Siege, and in no capacity able to furnish themselves with more, especially in this part of the World; they also saw, that in the course of this Summer, General Murray would make himself Master of the Country between Quebec and Montreal; especially if he put in practice what he published in his Manifesto's, to destroy all that came within his power, and they plainly saw that nothing was able to stand before him: Besides all before mentioned, they had received private intelligence; that they had to expect an Army on their back by the way of Lake Champlain, but under whose command they had not been, as yet informed; having therefore Summed up all together they found that whatsoever they had lost was irrecoverable, without a Peace between the two Crowns should re-establish then in it; they were therefore resolved to endeavor all in their power to frustrate any future operations that might be planned against them; and to make the best provisions they were able, and to wait the Issue:—

But to return:—

Lord Colville with the Fleet under his Command, Sailed from Halifax, on the Twenty second day of April for the River Saint Laurence:—But meeting with such thick fogs, contrary winds, and such vast Shoals of Ice, that it was impossible for him to come up the River Saint Laurence in time to our Assistance.—

Commander Swanton Sailed from England, with the Squadron under

his Command, sometime in February, and arrived at the Isle of Bae, in the River Saint Laurence in the beginning of May ; where he waited for those Ships, which had been separated from the Squadron on the passage from England :—and arrived at Quebec the fifteenth of May, as has been before observed.—

The French Ministry equipped a small Fleet, consisting of two large Store Ships, and Nineteen Smaller Vessels, and sent them for Quebec, under the convoy of One Frigate, they left France in the beginning of February ; but upon their arrival in the Gulf of Saint Laurence, they received intelligence that Commodore Swanton with a considerable Squadron had gotten the Start of him up the River, they therefore put into the Bay of Chaleurs, and came to an Anchor, and put themselves into the best posture of defence they were able, by erecting two Batteries on the Shore, to Cover their Shipping, and had mounted them with Cannon.—Captain Byron who commanded the Squadron Stationed at Louisbourg for the protection of the Vessels bringing supplies from New England to our Army at Quebec : No sooner did he hear of their being in the Bay of Chaleurs, but he sailed thither with his whole Squadron, and found them at anchor, which he immediately attacked, and intirely destroyed, with the two Batteries they had erected on the Shores for their protection ; they also demolished the settlement, and burnt the town which consisted of upwards of two hundred houses.

But to proceed,—

Upon the arrival of Lord Colville, General Murray received intelligence from General Amherst ; wherein he acquainted him with his intended plan for the operations of the ensuing Campaign ; directing him at the same time, to join him at Montreal, with all the troops which he could possibly Spare from the duty of the Garrison of Quebec :—That Colonel Haviland, with all the troops from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, that could possibly be spared from two Garrisons ; should also come down Lake Champlain ; that they should call and Besiege, and take le Isle aux Noix, and Fort Chambly ; and from thence proceed by the easiest Route he could to Montreal :—That himself (General Amherst) with the Main Army, should proceed by the Frontiers of New York ; By the Mohawk River ; and the River Oneidees to take Ontario ; and so down the River Saint Laurence, and join General Murray and Colonel Haviland, on the Island of Montreal.—

AP. II—9

So far the plan :—

General Amherst knew well enough that if the above plan succeeded to his expectation, and desires ; and that the three Armies might have a happy Junction, that the Enemy would then be intirely hemmed in, on every Side, and that every possible means would be cut off ; that they would not be able to receive the lease Succour from Europe ; either by the River Saint Laurence Below, or by the Great Lakes above, nor by the Lake Champlain ; as by the above plan, formed for Colonel Haviland's share of the work, by taking le Isle au Noix and Fort Chambly, the navigation of that Lake would be intirely taken from them, and so would be forced to Capitulation at discretion.—

It may here be readily observed, that when General Amherst formed the above plan, he had no regard to the impediments, and obstructions that might be met with by any, or by all the three Armies ; At that time, he did not know nor even think of the hazardous situation we were in at Quebec ; at the time he wrote that letter, we had all the reason in the world to expect a Siege as soon as the Season should enable them by any means to take the Field, and come down from Montreal, and their other posts above Quebec :—As also, he never took into consideration at that time, whether the Enemy's fleet or ours, might first gain the Navigation of the River Saint Laurence ; as we could see clearly that if they had been First, up at Quebec, that it would certainly revert to it first owners, before the time appointed for us to put our share of it in execution.

Again, had he taken into mature consideration, the difficulties that might very reasonably have Stopped Colonel Haviland in his Route from Crown Point, he could not form the most distant idea, how long Colonel Haviland might be in taking le Isle au Noix, with his handful of Men, considering the Situation and Strength of that Garrison, or whether in the whole Campaign he might become Master of that, and Fort Chambly, and in consequence of the above impediments he might not have been able to execute his Share of the above plan.

The Enemy, by the Arrival of our Fleet, had been forced to Abandon the Siege of Quebec ; and having by a Council of War collected the Sum total of their Affairs in Canada, and finding them to stand as mentioned in page 105 and 106, and dreading the consequences of this Campaign, and their whole Army being stationed all the way between Jacques

Quartiere and Montreal, waiting in expectation of the total Reduction of All Canada.

However, Monsieur, le Marquis de Vaudreville, the Governor General of All Canada, having fixed his Head Quarters at Montreal : he came to this resolution, let the consequence be what it would, that he was determined to stand it out to the last Extremity, and therefore began to make preparations accordingly.—

First, he stationed the Army, under the Command of Monsieur le General de Levy, between Cape Rouge, and Montreal, so as to be a check to our Fleet from making any Manouvres of consequence above Quebec : As also to be a check to the intrepid and resolute Spirit of General Murray and his Wolves, from making any considerable excursions into the Country to despoil the Inhabitants, as he had threatened in his Manifestos :—Secondly, he began to Levy New Forces, both Regular and Irregular ; and erected new fortifications and put the Old Ones into the best State of defence he was able. He collected Magazines for their Supply, and exerted every talent he was possessed of, to withstand General Amhersts when he should arrive ; for by this time, he was credibly informed, that he was actually making preparations to come down against Montreal ; But it don't appear at this time, that he had the least intimation, that either General Murray was to come in his Rear from Quebec ; or of Colonel Haviland's coming from Crown point on his flank :—He knew indeed, that General Murray was using every Art in his power, to persuade the Canadians to a compliance with his Manifestos, which he was daily distributing amongst them.—And that numbers above Quebec were daily bringing in their arms, acquainting the Marquis that they would have no further a hand in the Affair ; for they told him that General Murray had positively declared, that he would use the same rigid means to bring them to a compliance that his predecessor, General Wolfe, had done the preceeding year to all those to the Eastward of Quebbec ; that is, that he would burn and destroy all that lay in his way, wherever he should set his feet, according to the order in page 42, of these Memoirs :—The Marquis having perfect information of the intrepid courage of General Murray, and his Quebec Army ; and seeing how the Canadian inhabitants were intimidated at his threats, he knew not what Answer to make ; but betook himself to every delusive Art, amongst the Canadians, and Indians, whom he saw plainly began to

Flag ; And that many of good consideration were daily flocking to General Murray to take the Oath, some of Allegiance, and a great Number of Neutrality. He therefore finding that every Remonstrance was fruitless, he next had recourse to the following pathetic and delusive letter :

LE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL

to MONSIEUR DE.....

Commandant of the Militia. &c., &c.

Montreal June 3d, 1760

“ Monsieur

“ The Chevalier de Levy is just returned to this town, and has
 “ repeated to me the strongest testimony of the Zeal, and Ardor of the
 “ Militia under your Command :—I expected no less from the bravery of
 “ the Canadians, and from their attachment of their Native Country :—
 “ His Majesty, who is informed of your bravery, is well pleased ; but
 “ is sorely afflicted at the distresses you labour under :—You do not
 “ remain uninformed of the great advantages Our Monarch has gained
 “ over the English and Prussians, in the course of the last Campaign in
 “ Germany :—His Majesty in this present Campaign, is in person in
 “ Holland with an Army of two Hundred thousand men :—The Prince
 “ of Conti is in Germany with One hundred thousand, and the Prince
 “ of Deux ponts, and Soubise, Command the Army of the Empire of two
 “ hundred thousand :—And lastly the Empress of Russia, and the Queen
 “ of Hungary have joined their whole Force, and taking Measures for
 “ the Conquest of the remainder of his Prussian Majesty's Dominions.—

“ The last accounts assure us, that the Garrisons of Niagara, Fort
 “ Frederick, and Chouagan have suffered greatly by Sickness,—and
 “ which still continues :—and that the British Regular troops in New
 “ England were reduced to nothing :—General Murray has published
 “ his Manifestos to no purpose, to magnify his own Nation ; to Pacify
 “ the Canadians, and engage them to lay down their Arms :—To discredit
 “ our Bills of Exchange, and our Currency, at the same time that the
 “ English traders, are eager to procure them, because they have been
 “ regularly paid.—

“ You See Sir, that the Colony is drawing to the end of its distresses,
 “ and is on the Point of seeing plenty succeed to Scarcity :—If the

" English should make an Attempt, it can have no other object but the
 " Ambition of their Generals: we are thoroughly prepared to repulse
 " them: We have a train of Artillery, besides those we took from the
 " Enemy; a very great quantity of powder and Ball, and all kinds of
 " Ammunition for the Operations, which I have projected: We have
 " also provisions enough, by means of the resources we find in the Good
 " will of the Canadians, who have the greatest interest in their Religion
 " and liberties:—The King's troops, will even live if necessary upon
 " Roots, when they can't get better, and will not fail to do their endeav-
 " ours, and join them to those of the Brave Canadians:—

" My intention then is, that You, and all your Militia, hold your-
 " selves ready to March, with Arms, and Eight days' provisions to our
 " Frontiers, when the case shall require it:—I believe I may venture to
 " assure you, that these will be the last dispositions which I shall have
 " occasion to make for the Defence of this Colony; being convinced, that
 " some time in August at least, we shall have Peace, Provisions, and in
 " general, whatsoever we shall want.—

"Je suis,

" Monsieur,

" Votre, &c., &c., &c.,

" VAUDREUIL".

P. S.—" You will Assemble the Militia, and Read this letter to
 " them:—

" You will carefully inspect their Arms, and if any of them
 " are out of Order, you will give them a Note, and the King's
 " Gunsmith will repair them immediately ".—

It requires no great depth of penetration to perceive the Marquis's
 Ideas on the result of this Campaign, in case General Amherst should
 come down to Montreal; as by this time it was generally believed he
 would, it requires no great depth of penetration to discover the Marquis'
 thoughts of Success: as may be plainly inferred by this paragraph,
 when he says:—

" I believe I may venture to assure you, that these will be the last
 " dispositions, which I shall have occasion to make for the defence of

" this Colony ".—From which it is perceivable, that he was fully assured that in case General Amherst came down by the Lake Ontario, and hemmed him in on that Side, the consequence must be an immediate destruction : as may be inferred from the paragraph, where he Says :—

" Being convinced, that sometime in August, at least, we shall have " peace, Provisions, and in general, whatsoever we shall want." As expecting that if the General should come, it would be some time in August before he would be down ; And in this Conjecture His Geni did not lead him far astray ; for in case le Isle Royale had not been in his Route, which he was forced to stop, and Besiege in form, which was some little delay, or it may be reasonably thought that he would have been down some time in August, according to the Marquis' prediction ; since he did actually arrive the sixth of September :—

Surely, the Marquis had not seen the Bravery of the Canadians tried in the Field, or he could never extol their Bravery, without his whole view in it was to flatter them ; I had often seen them tried but never found them Sterling : Indeed they behaved with great Bravery at the Heights of Beauport, the thirty first of July as in page 24, and pages following, where they were deeply intrenched on a commanding eminence, where not the head of a single man could be Seen.—Again, their behaviour shone conspicuously bright on the thirteenth of September, following the above, as mentioned in pages 56, and 57, where upwards of twenty thousand of them, left the field to about four thousand of us ; the reason for which may be ascribed thus, they were not buried in deep intrenchments, but on a level open plain with ourselves ; Again, on the twenty-eighth of last April ; when they came down with such a numerous host to retake Quebe, as in these memoirs from 88 to 93,—where, for near and hour and a half, they gained no advantage, but lost rather ; although in the Skirt of a thick wood, and we on the open plain in their front ; from which it is plain, that the Marquis had never seen them tried, or else he was guilty of the meanest, and most Servile flattery.—Again, what benefit could that long harangue, be to the easement of their distressed Situation, who were reduced as it were from Opulence to the most abject poverty, as in page 87, were our troops were reduced to the greatest distress through absolute want, by giving their Subsistence to these brave Canadians ; what did they gain by all their Majesty's conquests in Germany last Campaign, but the loss of all they had ; what will they gain this Campaign, by their vast Armies there but the loss of their

Country here ; All this, without any further comment appears, as it is, real flattery.—

“ You see, Sir, says he, that the Colony is drawing to the end of its distresses, and is on the point of seeing plenty succeed to Scarcity.”—

Nothing appears plainer, but that he discloses his thoughts of the finishing Strokes of the utter Subversion of the whole Colony : Although in a strain not to be comprehended by the Vulgar ; as is plain throughout the whole Epistle ; and as appears still more plain, by his having the Articles of Capitulation ready drawn up against the arrival of General Amherst ; who did not come before the town till the evening of the sixth, and they were carried out to him on the morning of the Seventh of September : Let any person overlook them with an Eye of attention, and he will easily discover, that they were not the work of a few hours of Confusion, but that of the most deliberate coolness, and consideration.—

But however, the Marquis acted with great prudence, although it is visible to the weakest comprehension, that he did not declare his real Sentiments, as it is easily understood ; he plainly Saw that if he did not endeavour by every possible means to amuse them, that in a very little time they would give up the cause of their Country, and become Neuters.

But to proceed.—

General Amherst Army being assembled at Oswego, and joined by a Body of Indians, under the command of General Sir William Johnson ; he detached a Colonel Haldimand, with the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, and Montgomery's Regiment of Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the lake Ontario, to assist the Armed vessels to find a passage to La Galette ; as also in pursuance of his plan, he ordered two Armed Vessels to cruise on the lake.—

It was about the Ninth, or Tenth of July, before the General arrived at Oswego :—And in assembling his Army, collecting Magazines, and embarking his Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, Stores, and all other requisites for the expedition, and had made the usual Appointments, and given the necessary instructions, it took him until the Tenth of August before he embarked his troops and Set off.—

Nothing of consequence happened in Crossing the Lake but the

following :—the Seventh day after their departure from Oswego, the Row Gallies fell in with a French Sloop, commanded by Monsieur de Brogue-rie, and after a warm engagement of near two hours, took her and brought her in.—

At the mouth of the River Saint Laurence, as it opens itself into the Lake Ontario, is a most beautiful Fort, named Le Isle Royale ; this Fort is one of the most important posts up the River Saint Laurence, and in a great measure commands the Source of it above Montreal :—General Amherst no sooner arrived at this Fort, and viewing its Situation and consequence, but he detached some Engineers to reconnoitre its works, and find out as much as they should be able, how it might be attacked to the greatest advantage :—He also, reconnoitred, the Coasts and the Islands in its neighborhood, with the greatest minuteness ; and took immediate possession of them, and made a disposition to invest the Fort-ress :—Batteries were immediately erected on the Islands nearest the Fort, from whence he commanded it, as also from the Armed Sloops.—

The Governor, (Monsieur Pauchet) saw General Amherst preparing all things, in Order to make a General Assault, he beat a parley, and Surrendered upon terms of Capitulation :—Upon General Amherst's entrance into the above Fortress, he was so charmed with it, and its Situation, as having the Sole command of all the Indian Trade above Montreal, and the Lakes, as well as the Mohawk River ; he instantly set about repairing the Fortifications and left in it a Garrison, for its defence.—

In some of the Islands in the neighborhood of the Fortress, the Enemy (being Indians) abandoned their habitations, with such precipitation, that they left behind them a great number of Scalps, and which had been taken in the Mohawk's Country :—The sight of these Scalps, so incensed our Indians, that it was with difficulty, that Sir William Johnson kept them within the bounds of moderation, especially the Mohawks ; however, in retaliation, they burned a Chapel and all the houses, and destroyed everything they came near.—

All things being Settled, at Le Isle Royale, and its neighborhood, and the necessary instructions given ; General Amherst reembarked his troops, and prosecuted his Navigation down the River towards Montreal ; where he landed his men without opposition at La Chine, on the Sixth day of September.—

The Enemy at their landing fired a few irregular Shots but immediately retreated, and Suffered them to finish their Landing without further opposition : breaking down a bridge to hinder a pursuit after them.

As soon as the General had finished the landing of the men and such necessary Artillery and other stores as would be wanted, he set about repairing the Bridge, which the Enemy had taken down to hinder us from pursuing them, as mentioned above ; and which was again soon rebuilt, and fit for the passage of the troops and Artillery, and the whole Army marched to Montreal without delay, or impediment of any kind whatsoever, where he arrived in the Evening, and formed his Army on an open pleasant plain before the Walls of the Town, which he intended to besiege in form,—

But to return to Quebec :—

General Murray no sooner received General Amherst's instructions, with regard to our Share of the Work, but he immediately assembled the whole Garrison, without the Walls of the City, and acquainted us with the whole plan ; and which we perceived was to end with no less than the total Subversion of Canada :—After this general information all things were gotten into the most perfect readiness, which our Situation and Circumstances would admit, with the utmost diligence, and dispatch.—

When the time for putting into practice the above preparations was come ; the whole Garrison, Officers and Men who were really fit for Duty, were assembled, amounting in the whole to about Fifteen hundred men, exclusive of Convelescents, Sick and Wounded, who were not able by any means for Duty but Line Wall duty ; and in the beginning of August we embarked on board with such Boats and Vessels as we had with us at Quebec, leaving the defence of the Garrison to the said Convelescents, etc., etc., well knowing their Army were too much intimidated to make any attempt in our Absence ; as also that they would find employment enough to defend themselves and their Coasts and Country against us in our Route to Montreal.

It will not be foreign to the business to mention in this place, that a vast number of the above Convelescents, made every application they were able to be partakers of the Glory, which they said they should lose by not being present at the finishing Stroke of this great Work : alledging that as they had borne the burden and heat of the Day ; that in the

Evening, when they should be present to receive their Wages, that they were to be shut out, and Strangers, who had borne no share of the toil, should come in before them, and receive the honour due to them only ; Nay, as well as the Men, several of the Convelescent Officers made the same Allegations : but all to no purpose, the General well knowing that they were utterly unable for the task, and remembering the great loss we sustained in the Field, on the twenty-eight of April, and which chiefly rose from the weakness of the Convelescents ; who contrary to all positive orders, rushed into the Battle, he therefore made the Commanding Officers of Regiments, and Corps, responsible for their men ; that none went but such as were absolutely able for the Duty of the Field.

This small detachment ; who went by the name of the Quebec Army, And who, by the Assistance of Divine providence, which inspired them with Courage and Resolution, to undertake the most dangerous enterprises, and in which, if we look back with attentive eye, we shall See no help, or way of escape, but what came from the hand of Almighty God, a great number of particular instances, might be brought to prove, and vindicate the above Assertion, besides those that were general among the whole Army, I shall, out of a great multitude, only mention two ; and which are the Sergeants, mentioned at large, the one in page 44, the other in page 82, of these Memoirs : However it be, whether by our own power, or the over ruling providence of God, be that as it may, our name was become famous amongst the regular polished Canadians ; who used out of pleasantry call us Wolfs' Terriers, or Hunters, from our sagacity in finding out the lurking places of their Savage Canadians and Indians ; as also, those savage Barbarians used to give us the name of Murray's Wolves, for the resolute courage of our small reconnoitring parties, attacking and routing such numbers of them : However, they had always found them, an Army, small as it was, not to be daunted by numbers, nor intrenched Situation ; not terrified by their horrible appearance ; nor could we meet with any dangers, let them have what appearance they would, that was able to dismay us ; neither could any Fatigues, be they ever so heavy quell our Courage ; nor the greatest losses make us afraid ; but we were a terror to all who had every faced us in the Field of Battle : This small army, from eight thousand men, which we had at the first, was now reduced to about Fifteen hundred, now embarked in the Boats, in order of march for the last object of their wishes, and transported up

the River Saint Laurence, under the guidance of Captain Deane, who brought us up the River in safety and landed us at Montreal.—

General Murray with his handful of Men, were the first who arrived at Montreal, and lay encamped a little below the town ; the Enemy made some Shew as if they intended attacking ; but it was only a feint, as they soon drew back, and suffered us to remain quietly, until the arrival of General Amherst, and Colonel Haviland.

Let us again turn onr eyes and take a retrospective view, and we shall plainly See the Over ruling hand of providence conspicuously displayed in the Event before us ; to see three distinct Armies, so distantly situated ; in three distinct parts of the Globe :—General Amherst from the West :—General Murray from the East, Colonel Haviland from the South ; and no communication, by any means could pass between them : to see them meet together without the least knowledge of each others motions, or any kind of advice or intelligence from each other ; Had the time of their meeting been previously concerted between them, the miracle would then have been the less ; without considering the impediments, or obstructions which might be met with in the way to hinder such a miraculous Junction.

As soon as General Amherst had landed his Army at La Chine, and had repaired the Bridge, and landed his Artillery, and Baggage and what Stores would be wanted for the present, and left a sufficient detachment to Guard the boats, and what was left behind, he began his march towards Montreal, where upon his arrival he formed his Army in the Front of the town, with full determination to besiege it in form.—

The very next morning after the arrival of General Amherst ; which was the seventh of September ; the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor General of all Canada ; taking a particular view of his present Situation, as also the Situation of the affairs of the different parts of the whole colony of Canada,—and seeing no possibility of withstanding such a powerful Force, so Stationed, and flushed with every kind of Success, as well as resolute in every enterprize, be it ever so daring :—He saw plainly that a vast number of Canadians had given up the Cause ; being intimidated by General Murray's Manifestos, either by taking the Oath of Allegiance, or that of Neutrality :—He saw that the Navigation of the River Saint Laurence, as well as that of all the lakes, both above and

below the town were shut up against him, being all in the hands of the English :—That Quebec, the Capital of the whole Colony, with all the Forts, and Ports of any consequence, on the River Saint Laurence, as well as on the Lakes, were either taken or destroyed by the English : He saw that all possibility of Succour, or Support, was intirely cut off : Nay, that he could not even have communication with his Army in the Field, whereby to form any plan for their defence or protection :—He saw plainly that he and all who were with him were hemmed in on all sides ; —He could indeed make a flutter for a while, but without producing any good effect :—He knew he had all the riches of Canada as well as their Owners deposited under his charge, and that there was no way for him, or them, to Retreat, no place of refuge to flee to for safety :—He knew he could indeed stand the Siege, for a few days, and run the risque of being taken by storm, and all die by the sword, without distinction ; or at least, have it reduced to a heap of Rubbish, and everything of consequence destroyed, and at last be forced to surrender at descretion :—The Marquis, after duly considering all these things, and with the advice and Consent of the General Officers, and chief men of the Colony, who with him in the town, sent to General Amherst and desired a Capitulation, upon the following terms :—

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL
AMHERST, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
FORCES IN NORTH AMERICA : AND HIS EXCELLENCY,
THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL, GOVERNOR, AND
LIEUTENANT GENERAL FOR THE KING
IN CANADA.—

1. Twenty four hours after the signing the present Capitulation, the English General shall cause the troops of his Britannic Majesty to take possession of the Gates of the town of Montreal :—And the English Garrison shall not come into the place, till after the French troops have evacuated it.—

“ The whole Garrison of Montreal must lay down their Arms,
“ and shall not serve during the present War.— Immediately
“ after the Signing the present Capitulation, the King's
“ troops shall take possession of the Gates of Montreal : And

"the English Garrison shall not come into the place, but
"they shall place Guards necessary to preserve good order
"in the town".—

2. The troops and the Militia, who are in town, in the Garrison of Montreal, shall go out by the Gate of... With the Honours of War ; Six pieces of Cannon, and One Mortar, and shall be put on board the Vessel, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall Embark : with six Rounds for each piece :—The same Honours of War shall be granted to the Garrison of Trois Rivières.—

"Granted."

3. The troops and Militia, who are in the Garrison, of the Fort of Jacques Cartiere, and in the Island Saint Hellen, and other Forts, shall be treated in the same manner, and have the same honours, :—And those troops shall go to Montreal, or Trois Rivières, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the first Port in France, by the Shortest Way. —The troops who are in our ports, and situated on our frontiers on the Side of Acadia, Detroit, or Michilimackinac, or on other ports, shall enjoy the same honours, and be treated in the same manner.—

"All those troops are not to serve during the present War, and
"shall lay down their Arms :—

"The rest is Granted".

4. The Militia, after being come out of the above towns, forts, and ports, shall return to their homes, without being molested, on any pretence whatsoever, on account of their having carried Arms.

"Granted".

5. The troops who keep the Field, shall raise their Camp, and March, Drums beating, with their Arms, Baggage, and Artillery, to Join the Garrison of Montreal ; And shall be treated in every respect the same.

"These troops as well as the others must lay down their Arms".

6. The Subjects of His Britannic Majesty, and of His Most Christian Majesty ; Soldiers, Militia, or Sea men, who shall have Deserted, or left the Service of their Sovereign, and carried Arms in North

America, shall be on both sides pardoned, for their crimes : they shall be respectively returned to their Countries, if not, each shall remain where he is, without being sought after, or molested.—

“ Refused ”.—

7. The Magazines, Artillery, Firelocks, Sabres, Ammunition, and in general everything that belongs to His Most Christian Majesty ; as well as the towns of Montreal, and Trois Rivières, as in the Ports and Ports mentioned in the Third Article, shall be delivered up, according to the exact Inventories, to the Commissaries who shall be appointed to receive the same, in the name of his Britannic Majesty :—Duplicates of said Inventories shall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.—

“ This is everything that can be asked on this Article.”

8. The Officers, Soldiers, Militia, Seamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds, or Sickness ; as well in the hospitals, as in private houses, shall enjoy the privilege of the Cartel, and to be treated accordingly.

“ The sick and wounded, shall be treated the same as our own
“ people”.

9. The English General shall engage to send back to their own homes, the Indians and Morisians, who make part of his Armies, immediately after signing the Capitulation :—And in the meantime to prevent all disorders on the part of those that may be gone, away ; the said General shall give Safe Guards to such as are present, as shall desire them ; as well in the town as in the Country.—

“ The first part is Refused.—There never has been any cruelties
“ omitted by the Indians of Our Army, and good Order
“ shall be preserved ”.

10. His Britannic Majesty's General shall be answerable for all disorders on the part of his troops, and oblige them to pay the damages they do, as well in the towns, as in the Country.—

“ Answered by the preceding Article ”.

11. The English General shall not oblige the Marquis de Vaudrevil to leave the town of Montreal before the.... And no person shall be lodged in his house till he is gone :—The Chevalier de Levy, Commander of the Land Forces, and of the Colony troops :—Engineers, Officers :—of Artillery, and Commissary of War, shall also remain at Montreal to the said day ; and shall keep their lodging there :—The same to be observed with regard to Monsieur Bigot the Intendant : the Company of Marines, and Writers, whom the said Monsieur Bigot shall have occasion for ; and no person shall be lodged in the Intendant's house before he shall be gone.—

“ The Marquis de Vaudrevil and all those Gentlemen, shall be
“ Masters of their Own houses ; and shall embark when the
“ King's ships are ready to sail for Europe ; and all possible
“ conveniences shall be granted them ”.—

12. The most convenient vessel that can be found, shall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudrevil, by the straightest passage to the First Sea port in France :—The Necessary accommodations shall be made for him, the Marquis de Vaudrevil ; Monsieur de Rigaut, Governor of Montreal, and Suite of this General :—This Vessel shall be properly victualled at the expense of His Britannic Majesty :—And the Marquis de Vaudrevil,—shall take with him all his papers, without being examined, his Equipage, Place, Baggage, and also those of his Suite.

“ Granted.” Except the Archives which will be necessary for
“ the Government of the Colony.”

13. If before, or after the embarkation of the Marquis de Vaudrevil, News of peace should arrive, And that by the Treaty, Canada should remain to his Most Christian Majesty : The Marquis de Vaudrevil should return to Quebec, or Montreal :—Every thing shall return to its former State, under the dominion of His Most Christian Majesty ; and this present Capitulation shall become Null and of no effect.—

“ Whatever the King of Great Britain shall have done on this
“ Subject, shall be obeyed”.

14. Two ships shall be appointed to carry to France the Chevalier de Levy :—The principal Officers, and Staff of the land Forces, the Engineers, Officers of Artilleries, and their Suite :—These Vessels shall likewise be victualled, and the necessary accomodations provided for them. The said Officers shall take with them their papers, without being examined : and also their equipage, and Baggage ;—Such of the said Officers, as shall be married, shall have liberty to take with their wives and Children,—who shall be Victualled :—

“ Granted, except that the Marquis de Vaudrevil, and all the
 “ Officers of whatsoever Rank they may be, shall faithfully
 “ deliver up to us,—All the Charts, and Plans of the whole
 “ Country ”.

15. A vessel shall also be appointed for the Passage of Monsieur Bigot the Intendant, with his Suite :—In which vessel the proper Accommodations shall be made for him, and the persons he shall take with him.—He shall also embark with him his papers, which shall not be examined :—His Equipage, Plate, and Baggage, and those of his Suite :—This Vessell shall also be Victualled, as before mentioned.—

“ Granted, with the same reserve, as in the preceding Article ”.

16. The English General, shall also order the most necessary and convenient Vessels to carry to France, Monsieur de Longevil, Governor of Trois Rivieres, the Staff of the Colony, and the Commissary of the Marine :—They shall embark therein their families, Servants, Baggage and Equipage : And they shall be properly Victualled during the Passage, at the expense of His Britannic Majesty.

“ Granted ”.

17. The Officers and Soldiers, as well as of the Land Forces, as of the Colony, And also the Marine Officers and Seamen, who are in the Colony, shall be likewise embarked for France and Sufficient and Convenient Vessels shall be appointed to carry them :—The Land and Sea Officers, who shall be Married, shall take with their Wives and Children, and all of them shall embark their Haversacks and Baggage :—This Vessel shall be properly Victualled at the expense of his His Britannic Majesty.

" Granted ".

18. The Officers, Soldiers, and all the followers of the troops, who shall have their Baggage in the Field, may send for it before they depart ; without any hindrance or molestation whatsoever.

" Granted ".

19. An Hospital Ship shall be provided by the English General, for such of the Wounded and Sick Officers, Soldiers and Seamen, as shall be in a condition to be carried to France :—And shall likewise be Victualled at the expense of His Britannic Majesty.—It shall be the same with the other Sick Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, as soon as they shall be recovered :—They shall be at liberty to carry with them their wives, Children, Servants and Baggage.—And the said Soldiers and Sailors shall not be solicited, nor forced to enter into the Service of His Britannic Majesty.

" Granted ".

20. A Commissary, and one of the King's Writers, shall be left to take care of the Hospitals : And whatever may relate to the service of His Most Christian Majesty.

" Granted ".

21. The English General shall also provide Ships, for carrying to France, the Officers of the Supreme Council of Justice, Police, Admiralty ; and all Officers having Commissions, or Brevets from His Most Christian Majesty :—For them, their families, Servants, and Equipages, as well as for the other Officers :—And they shall likewise be Victualled at the expense of His Britannic Majesty :—They shall however be at liberty to Stay in the Country, if they think proper to Settle their Affairs ; or to withdraw to France whenever they think fit.

" Granted, but if they have papers relating to the Government
" of the Country, they are to be delivered to us ".

22. If there are any Military Officers, whose affairs should require their presence in the Colony till next year, they shall have liberty to stay

in it, after having obtained the Marquis de Vaudrevil's permission for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of War.—

“ All those Gentlemen, whose private Affairs shall require their
 “ Stay in the Country ; and who shall have the Marquis de
 “ Vaudrevil's leave for so doing, shall be allowed to remain
 “ till their Affairs are settled ”.

23. The Commissary for the King's provisions, shall be at liberty to stay in Canada till next year, in order to be enabled to Answer the Debts he has contracted in the Colony on account of what he has furnished :—But if he should prefer to go to France this Year, he shall be obliged to leave a person till next Year to transmit his business :—This person shall have liberty to preserve his papers without being inspected.—His Clerks shall have liberty to stay in the Colony, or go to France ; And in this last case, a passage shall be allowed for them on board His Britannic Majesty's Ships ; with Subsistence for them, and their Wives and Families :—They shall take with them their Baggage.—

“ Granted ”.

24. The provisions and other kind of Stores, which shall be found in the Magazines of the Commissary ; As well in the towns of Montreal, and Trois Rivières, as in the Country, shall be preserved to him.—The said provisions belonging to him, and not to the King ; and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the french, or to the English.—

“ Everything that is actually in the Magazines, and destined
 “ for the use of the troops, is to be delivered to the English
 “ Commissary for the King's forces ”.

25. A passage to France, shall likewise be granted on board His Britannic Majesty's Ships, as well as Victuals to such Officers of the India Company, as shall be willing to go thither :—And they shall be allowed to take with them their Families, Servants, and Baggage :—The chief Agent of the said Company, in case he should chuse to go to france, shall be allowed to leave such person as he shall think proper till next Year, to settle the affairs of the Company, and to recover such sums as shall be due to them :—The said Chief Agent

shall keep all his papers, belonging to the said Company ; and they shall not be liable to Inspection.—

“ Granted ”.

26. The said Company shall be maintained in the property of the Icarlatines, and Castors, which they have in the town of Montreal : they shall not be touched on any pretence whatever ; and the necessary facilities shall be given to the Chief Agent, to send this Year his Castors to France, on board His Britannic Majesty's ships ; paying the freight on the same footing, as the English would pay it.

“ Granted, with what may belong to the Company, or to Private persons :—But if His Most Christian Majesty may have any share in it, that must become the property of the King ”.

27. The Free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall subsist intire ; in such manner, that all the States, and the people of the towns, and Country places, and distant posts, shall continue to Assemble in the Churches, and to frequent the Sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner directly or indirectly.—These people shall be obliged by the English Government to pay the Priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the Government of His Most Christian Majesty.

“ Granted. As to the free Exercise of their Religion : the obligation of their Paying the tithes to the Priests, will depend on the King's pleasure ”.

28. The Chapter, Priests, Curates, and Missionaries, shall continue, with an intire liberty, their Exercise and Functions of their Cures, in the parishes of the Towns and Countries.—

“ Granted.”

29. The Grand Vicars named by the Chapter to administer the Diocese, during the Vancancy of the Episcopal See, shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns, and Country parishes, as they shall think proper :—They shall at all times be free to visit the parishes of the Diocese, with the ordinary Ceremonies ; and exercise all the Jurisdiction

they exercised under the french domination :—They shall enjoy the same Rights, in case of the death of the future Bishop : of which, mention will be made in the following Article :—

“ Granted, except what regards the following article.

30. If by the Treaty of Peace. Canada should remain in the Power of His Britannic Majesty ; His Most Christian Majesty shall continue to name the Bishop of the Colony ; who shall always be of the Roman Communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman Religion.

“ Refused.”

31. The Bishop, shall in case of need, Establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his Cathedral, and his Episcopal place ; and in the meantime he shall have the liberty to dwell in the town, or parish he shall Judge proper :—He shall be at liberty to visit the Diocese, with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the Jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French Dominion : Save that an Oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to His Britannic Majesty's Service may be required of him.

“ This Article is comprized under the foregoing ”.

32. The Communities of Nuns, shall be preserved in their Constitutions and priviledges ; they shall continue to observe their rules ; they shall be exempted from lodging any Military ; and it shall be forbid to trouble them in their Religious exercises ; or to enter into their Monasteries :—Safeguards shall even be given them, if they desire it.—

“ Granted ”.

33. The preceding Article shall likewise be granted with regard to the communities of Jesuits, and Recolets, and of the priests of Saint Sulpice at Montreal ; these last and the Jesuits shall preserve their right to nominate to certain Curacies, and Missions as heretofore.

“ Refused till the King's pleasure is known ”.

34. All the communities, and all the Priests shall preserve their move-

ables, the properties, and Revenues of the Seigniories, and other estates ; which they possess in the Colonies, of what nature so ever they be :—And the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions.—

“ Granted ”.

35. If the Cannons, Priests, Missionaries, the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, and of Saint Sulpice, as well as the Jesuits and Recolets, chuse to go to france : passage shall be granted them in His Britannic Majesty's ships :—And they shall have leave to sell in whole, or in part, the Estates and Moveables which they have in the Colonies ; either to the French or to the English ; without the least hindrance, or Obstacle from the British Government :—They may take with them, or send to France, the produce, of what nature so ever, it be, of the Goods sold ; paying the freight as mentioned in the Twenty Sixth Article :—And such of the said priests who chuse to go this year, shall be victualled during the passage, at the expense of His Britannic Majesty ; and shall take with them their Baggage.—

“ They shall be Masters of their Estates, to dispose of them,
 “ and the produce thereof, as well as their persons, and all
 “ that belongs to them, to whom they like, and to go to
 “ France ”.

36. If by the Treaty of Peace, Canada remains to His Britannic Majesty ; All the French, Canadians, and Acadians, Merchants and other persons, who chuse to retire to France, shall have leave to do so from the English General, who shall procure them a passage. And nevertheless, if from this time to that decision, any French or Canadian Merchants, or other persons, shall desire to go to France, they shall likewise have leave from the English General, both the one and the Other, and shall take with them their Families, Servants, and Baggage :

“ Granted ”.

37. The Lords of the Manors, the Military and Civil Officers ; the Canadians, as well in the towns, as in the Country, the French, settled,

or trading in the whole extent of the Colony of Canada ; and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the intire peaceable possession of their Goods, Noble, and Ignoble ; Moveable and Immoveable ; Merchandize, Furs, and other Effects ; even their Ships :—They shall not be touched, or the least damage done to them, on any pretence whatsoever : They shall have liberty to keep, Let, or Sell them ; as well as to the French, as to the English ; to take away the produce of them in Bills of Exchange, Furs, Specie, or other returns, whenever they shall judge proper to go to France ; paying their freight, as in the twenty-sixth Article :—They shall also have the Furs which are in the Ports above, and which belong to them ; and may be on the way to Montreal ; and for this purpose they shall have leave to send this year, or the next, Canoes, fitted out to fetch the said Furs, as shall have remained in those ports.

“ Granted in the Twenty sixth Article ”.

38. All the people who have left Acadia, and who shall be found in Canada, on the Side of Acadia, shall have the same treatment as the Canadians, and shall enjoy the same priviledges.—

“ The King it to dispose of his Antient Subjects in the meantime,
“ they shall enjoy the same priviledges as the Canadians ”.

39. None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada ; and in the frontiers of the Colony, on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimackanae, and other places and Ports above in the Country, The Married and Unmarried Soldiers remaining in Canada, shall be carried, or transported to the English Colonies, or to Old England :— And they shall not be troubled for having carried Arms.—

“ Granted, except with regard to the Acadians ”.

40. The Savages, or Indian Allies of His Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they now inhabit, if they chuse to remain there ; they shall not be molested on any pretence what soever, for having carried Arms, and Served His Most Christian Majesty : they shall have, as well as the French, the liberty of Religion, and shall keep their Missionaries : The actual Vicars General and the Bishop,

when the Episcopal See shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new missionaries, when they shall judge it necessary.—

“ Granted, except the last Article, which has been already
“ refused ”.

41. The French, Canadians, Acadians, of what state or condition soever, who shall remain in the Colony, shall not be forced to take Arms against His Most Christian Majesty, or his Allies ; directly, or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever ; the British Government shall only exact of them a strict Neutrality.

“ They become Subjects of the King ”.

42. The French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris ; and the Laws and Customs established for this Country ; and they shall not be subject to any other Imports, than those which were established under the French Dominion.

“ Answered by the preceding Articles, and particularly by the
“ last ”.

43. The papers of the Government shall remain without exception in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and shall go to France with him :—These papers shall not be examined on any pretence whatever.

“ Granted, with the reserve already made ”.

44. The papers of the Intendancy :—Of the Officers of Comptroler of the Marine,—Of the Antient and New Treasurers,—Of the King's Magazines,—Of the Office of the Revenues, and forces of Saint Maurice, shall remain in the power of Monsieur Bigot the Intendant ; and they shall be embarked in the same Vessel with him :—These papers shall not be examined.

“ The same Answer with the last Article ”.

45. The Registers and papers of the Supreme Court of Council at Quebec, of the Provost, and Admiralty of the said City ; those of the Royal Jurisdiction of Trois Rivieres, and Montreal ; those of the Juris-

dition of the Colony; the Minutes of the Acts of the Notaries of the Towns of the Countries: And in general the Acts and other papers, that may serve to prove the estates of the Citizens shall remain in the Colony, in the Rolls of the Jurisdictions, on which these papers depend.

" Granted ".

46. The inhabitants and Merchants, shall enjoy all the priviledges of trade, under the same favours and conditions granted to the Subjects of Great Britain; as well in the Countries above, as in the Interior Colony.—

" Granted."

47. The Negroes and Panis of both Sexes shall remain in the quality of Slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belong:—They shall be at liberty to keep them in their Service in the Colony, or to sell them.—And they shall also continue to bring them up in the Roman Relligion.—

" Granted, except those who have been prisoners."

48. The Marquis de Vaudrevil; the General and Staff Officers, of the different places of the Colony: the Military and Civil Officers, and all persons who shall leave the Colony; or who are already absent, shall have leave to appoint Attornies to Act for them, and in their name in the Administration of their Effects, Moveable and immoveable until the peace:—And if by the treaty between the two crowns Canada does not return under the french dominion: these Officers, or other persons for them, shall have leave to sell their Manors, Houses, and other Effects, and Estates, and to carry, or send to France, the produce; either in Bills of Exchange, Specie, Furs, or other produce, or Returns, as is mentioned in the Thirty Seventh Article:—

" Granted."

49. The inhabitants and other persons, who shall have suffered any damage in their Goods, Moveable, or immoveable, and which remained at Quebec, under the Faith of the Capitulation of that City,

may make their representations to the British Government; who shall render them due Justice, against the person to whom it shall belong.—

“ Granted. ”

50. And lastly :—This present Capitulation shall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *Bona Fida* on both sides, notwithstanding any infraction, and any other pretence, with regard to the preceding Capitulations, and without making use of reprizals.—

“ Granted. ”

Postscript.

51. The English General shall engage, in case any Indians remain after the surrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns : And that they do not in any manner insult the Subjects of His Most Christian Majesty.

“ Care shall be taken that the Indians do not insult any of the
“ Subjects of His Most Christian Majesty. ”

52. The troops, and other Subjects, of his Most Christian Majesty, who are to go to france, shall be embarked at latest in Fifteen days after Signing of the present Capitulation.

“ Answered by the Eleventh Article ”.

53. The troops and other Subjects of His Most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall remain lodged and Encamped in the Town of Montreal, and other ports, which they now enjoy, till they shall be embarked for their departure :—Passports however shall be granted to those who shall want them for the different places of the Colony, to take care of their Affairs.—

“ Granted ”.

54. All the Officers and Soldiers of the troops, in the service of france, who are prisoners in New England, and who were taken in Canada, shall be sent as soon as possible to france; where their Ransom, or Exchange shall be treated of, agreeable to the Cartel, and if any

of those Officers have Affairs in Canada, they shall have leave to come there.

" Granted ".

55. As the Officers of Militia, and Acadians, who are prisoners in New England, they shall be sent back to their Frontiers.—

" Granted, except what regards the Acadians ".

Done at Montreal, the Eighth day of September, One thousand, Seven Hundred and Sixty.—

VAUDREVIL.—

Done at the Camp before Montreal the Eighth day of September, One thousand, Seven Hundred, and Sixty.—

GEFF. AMHERST.

Here ends the Siege of Montreal with the Total Subversion of all Canada, to the Crown of Great Britain.

PARTICULAR REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE REDUCTION OF CANADA.

Let us next turn our Eyes and we shall clearly discover the Divine hand of providence conspicuously bright in this happy event :—to Reduce a whole Country so populous, and of such a vast extent as Canada, without Bloodshed ; or even without firing a Single Shot, to what cause can such wonderful events be attributed, but to that being who framed all things out of nothing, by His Almighty Power, and governs them by the Secret Council of his own Will :—Not unto us, then O Lord, not unto Us ; but unto thee be the Praise and Glory ; whose Might, Majesty, and power, is over all the Works of thy hands : who pullest down the Strong holds of the Great and Mighty, and raisest up the Meek, and Humble. and Settest him to have dominion over Princes.

But to proceed.—

And First, let us take a View of the Situation of Monsieur la Marquis de Vaudreuil, and we shall find him surrounded on all sides with insurmountable difficulties and perplexities ; and that he Acted in all points with a true Spirit of patriotism ; and that he did all in his power to preserve and keep what had been committed to his charge ; but what is the Arm of Flesh, or the Wisdom of Man, when the Almighty takes the Sword of Vengeance into his hand to Subdue a proud and haughty nation.—the Marquis is allowed by all, to be a brave Soldier, an experienced General, and a Resolute Commander ; that he exerted every faculty, and put into practice every talent he was possessed of, for the Safety and defence of the Colony :—There was no human means which could be devised, but he used his utmost endeavor to reduce to practice : until at length, he found all his endeavours were of no avail, and that all his Schemes proved Abortive.—He saw plainly that most of the Inhabitants, especially on the South Side the River, as high up as Sorel, had laid down their Arms, and had taken the Oath tendered to them by Brigadier General Murray, and so were become Neuters :—That All round Quebec, and all down the River for more than two hundred miles, had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the British Government :—

He saw also, that there were great discontents amongst the Embodied Militia :—That great numbers of the Irregular Canadians, had already brought in their Arms, and were gone to their homes ; And that his regular troops, were grown very weak, that they were reduced to a handful, and were every day declining :—He well knew, that by the Arrival of Our Fleet, that the navigation of the River Saint Laurence, was intirely Shut up, and that all hopes on that side were utterly at an end ; besides all this, if it had remained open, all his Shipping were destroyed, that he was utterly unable to convey any intelligence to France of his situation and distresses, whereby he might receive either Succour, or Advice : that Crown Point, and all Forts, and Ports, in that quarter, and on the Lake Champlain, with the whole navigation of that Lake, and the whole Route was now in the possession of the English, that nothing could be looked from that quarter.—

—And that if General Amherst should come down ; as by this time he was credibly informed that he was assembling his Army at Oswego ;

he therefore knew that all communication by the Upper Lakes would also be shut up against him : And that Montreal and all its dependencies, would be as absolute prisoners, as if they were shut up in the Bastile :

He knew he had troops enough, to withstand General Amherst, and All the forces the English had then in America ; but he had seen them tried, and therefore knew well enough, that they would not stand by him to the last extremity : Although he so highly extolled their Bravery in his letters to the Commandant of the Militia, as set down at large in page 113, but at the time of his writing that letter, we don't find that he had the least intimation of either Brigadier General Murray, or of Colonel Haviland, his whole attention was fixed on General Amherst, and therefore made his preparations accordingly : neither had he the least forethought of Brigadier General Murray leaving Quebec without a sufficient Garrison for its defence, to come up against Montreal.—

What the Marquis chiefly depended on, was the natural Strength of the Country, and in its impracticable situation ; as well as his hopes that a peace between the two Crowns might shortly arrive :—As for the impracticability of the Country, he knew it was in many places ; especially in General Amherst's route by the way of Lake Ontario, almost inaccessible, by Woods, Mountains, Lakes, Rivers, and impassible Morasses ; Shoals, Rapids, and Falls, and every impediment and obstruction that possibly could lye in the way of an Army : He knew that he had nothing that he could do better, than to endeavour by all possible means to keep on the defensive :—and protract the War by every Art he could devise :—That his whole mind was fixed on the arrival of a Peace, before the arrival of General Amherst ; which, according to his expression, in his letter of the third of June, he expected would be sometime in August, at furthest.—

And next let us turn our selves round and take a perspective view of our own Armies, and we shall soon See the hand of the Almighty, and not we our selves that did this great achievement, to bring all Canada into Subjection without bloodshed : when we look throughout the whole and See the many improbabilities, nay, we may safely say, the seeming impossibilities that lay in the road, that we may cry out with the Psalmist : Great and Wonderful are thy Works O Lord, and thy hidden Counsels past our finding out.—

As First :

General Amherst was an entire Stranger to the difficulties, and impediments he had to meet with, on his Route from Oswego ; he did not so much as know that the Isle Royale lay on his Road ; how should he then be acquainted with the other difficulties which he had to encounter in his navigation down the River Saint Laurence to Montreal : When we look back on the Plan, and Operations of last Year, when it had been decreed by the Ministry for him to come down to Quebec, to assist General Wolfe at the Siege at that place, and which to all appearance was much more probable : as he had only two Forts of any consequence lay in his Road, that is, Ticonderoga, and which did not hold above, four or five days before it surrendered : And Crown Point, which the enemy abandoned at his approach and which two Forts were both in his possession by the Fourth or Fifth of August ; It may now be asked how he could find employment ; or what impediment could now lye in his way, to put a stop to his complying with the positive command of Government ; you will find it at large in page *Six* of these Memoirs.—

It appears according to page 119, that he arrived at Oswego in the beginning of July, and by the time he had gotten all things in readiness for the Expedition, it was near the middle of August, before he set off :—From the beginning of his preparations to the time of his Setting off, it may be supposed that no impediment lay in his way but is common in like cases : such as, the assembling his troops, preparing Magazines, of Provisions, Artillery, Ammunition, and other Stores, usually necessary in such occasions ; nor it seems did anything of consequence happen to impede his march in crossing the lake, until he came to le Isle Royale, as mentioned at large in page 120, after the surrender of that Fortress, and all down the River Saint Laurence, was full of the greatest difficulties that could be Surmounted : When we consider him and the whole of his navigation to be intire Strangers to it : When we consider the Powerful Army the Enemy had on both Banks of the River, and knew how to make the greatest advantage of every difficulty, that they knew he had to encounter :—they well knew how to sink every vessel, and to cut off every man before he could arrive at Montreal : they knew that he was intirely unacquainted with the Rifts and Shoals, as well as the vast number of Rocks which lye buried in that River, as well as the difficulty in keeping clear of the Rapids and Falls ; the perfect knowledge the

Enemy had of all these things; how easily might they have kept General Amherst's Army from coming down to Montreal.—

Notwithstanding the greatest possible care was taken in this intricate and dangerous navigation; what with the Rapids, Rifts, Falls, Rocks, Strands, and Shoals,—before they arrived at Montreal, they lost on the passage Forty Six Batteaus, Seventeen Whale Boats, One Row Galley and Near One hundred Men, besides Stores, Artillery, Ammunition, provisions, etc., etc., etc.

It must be allowed by all that General Amherst was extremely fortunate in having with him a set of Officers, whose ideas exactly corresponded with his own in all things, which were for the good of the Service.—

They were Gentlemen whose chief Glory was in studying their duty, and in obeying with the greatest exactness the orders of their Commandant, with a truly Brave and Heroic Spirit and the firmest Resolution.—

Besides the Regular Disciplined troops, he had with him a choice body of Indians, under the command of General Sir William Johnson; who maintained such a strict discipline, amongst them, and such an authority, and ascendancy over their ferocious and Savage natures, that not One Single act of Savage barbarity was ever committed amongst them, during the whole Expedition: Although the Marquis de Vaudrevil, was so much intimidated at their being a part of our Army; when he expressly mentions in *His Ninth Article*, the particular desire he had, that the Moraigans and Indians should be sent away to their own homes; and which he also repeated in the Fifty first Article, where he debars them from coming into any of the towns:—He having granted and encouraged such Savage liberty to the Indians and Canadians under his Command, that he was afraid of a retaliation: by what may be gathered from the Answer they made General Townshend at the surrender of Quebec; when he remonstrated the barbarous usage of Captain Ochterlony, and Ensign Peyton as mentioned at large in page 30 of these memoirs: as also the deaf Ear Monsieur de Montcalm turned to General Wolfe's pathetic letter as in page 13, All the answer of consequence was, that it was out of the power of discipline to restrain them.

General Amherst had with him, the truly brave and gallant Brigadier General Gage ; who with a Noble and Generous Spirit, always acted with Surprising Zeal on all occasions, as deserves the highest commendations : All which being added to the Undaunted and resolute spirit of Brigadier General Murray : Whose Military talents, added to his intrepid courage and resolution, made him both feared and admired, even by his Enemies, in two memorable Actions : One on the thirteenth of September, the glorious day wherein we gained the full reward of all our toil and labour in the Siege of Quebec ; and again on the twenty-eighth of April, on the same ground ; and although we lost the Battle, His Military talents and undaunted courage, shone conspicuous : Let the active diligence of Colonel Haviland be added to all the rest, which although his Route from Crown Point was not attended with such a number of unaccountable difficulties, and such imminent dangers, in his way to Montreal, yet his active diligence and Zeal for the Service deserves applause : although he had not the number of impediments lay in his Route which General Amherst had, to hinder him, yet he had two strong garrisons, le Isle aux Noix, and Fort Chambly ; and which must both be taken before it was possible to come to Montreal to meet General Amherst, and Brigadier General Murray.—

And now after seeing all these improbable difficulties and Seeming impossibilities, surmounted, what can we ascribe the Junction of these three Armies to, but to that Supernatural power, whose Mercy is over all his works ; who governs all things according to his All wise decree ; as it is plain, beyond all contradiction, that no human foresight could have done it.—

Let us consider further and take a View of the impediments which lay in the way of Colonel Haviland, who had to come from Crown Point ; had he been intercepted on his March by the Enemy ; as they had it in their power, having a much greater force on the Lake than he had, and although we were Masters of Crown Point, they were still Masters of le Isle aux Noix, and Fort Chambly, and were therefore Masters of the navigation of Lake Champlain and the whole navigation of the River Richelieu, and the whole course of the Rivers as well as the banks, which were all the way well lined with troops down to Montreal : And therefore no seeming possibility of making good his Share of the Plans :—Again, had Monsieur Burlemarque Supported the Siege with that Spirit and

Resolution, which his Duty and the Service of his Country required of him ; and which he had it in his power to have done ; having double the number of men Colonel Haviland had, and well provided with all things necessary to maintain a Siege ; it might have furnished Colonel Haviland with work enough for the operations of a Single Campaign to have become Master of Le Isle aux Noix, and Fort Chambly, with his handful of men ; as well as General Amherst found employment enough for his Army of twelve thousand men, the preceding Campaign, at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, without his coming to assist General Wolfe in the Siege of Quebec :—Or besides the foregoing, a thousand unforeseen, or even unthought of Accidents might have happened to impede his march, and stop his progress between Crown Point and Montreal of the same nature of those which lay in the way of General Amherst between Le Isle Royale and Montreal which were Rifts, Rapids, Rocks, and Strands, although there are no falls of consequence on that navigation, as on the River Saint Laurence, above Montreal, and therefore not so dangerous ; although which being added together the Sum total arising therefrom makes it plainly appear to be an act of Divine providence which brought him safe to Montreal to act in conjunction with General Amherst and Brigadier General Murray in the total Reduction of Canada.—

Again, had General Amherst met with sufficient impediments to have hindered him from coming down to Montreal, to meet Brigadier General Murray, and Colonel Haviland this year, as it did last year, from coming down to Quebec, to the assistance of General Wolfe in the Siege of that Fortress, they two would have besieged Montreal without him as General Wolfe did Quebec :—Or had any of the above impediments have kept Colonel Haviland from Joining him at that place, he intended through God's assistance to have commenced the Siege against Montreal himself, let the consequence be what it would.

Although Brigadier General Murray's motions up the River Saint Laurence between Quebec and Montreal was closely watched by the Enemy ; yet it was not attended with those dangerous impediments which lay in the way of General Amherst and Colonel Haviland as above mentioned : Monsieur de Levy with a numerous Army kept the Shore on the North side the River, between Cape Rouge and Montreal so well lined, that he could not make any attempt to land on that side the water : Yet, notwithstanding every impediment and every obstacle that lay on our

Route, up the River between Quebec and Montreal, the General published his Manifestos, on both sides amongst the inhabitants, all the way up, and which in a great measure produced the desired effect; almost, all those on the South Shore as high up as Sorell, laid down their Arms, and took the Oath of Neutrality; as also did a vast number, as high up as Trois Rivières, on the North Shore, and all those who did not were disarmed by Lord Rollo.

Captain Deane on board the *Diana*, commanded this navigation up the River Saint Laurence, between Quebec and Montreal; Difficult and intricate as it was, and intirely unacquainted with the navigation, especially above point au Tremble; he had surprizing success; for although we had such a vast number of vessels of every denomination; yet so great was his care and vigilance, that not a single Vessel was lost, or received the least damage on their passage to Montreal.—

Having thus happily finished the Conquest of Canada; and through the Assistance of Divine providence, brought that extensive Country into Subjection to the Crown of Great Britain, which may the same good providence that brought it to us preserve and keep us long in the quiet and peaceable possession of it; and may we make it our Duty to deserve such great and wonderful mercies from him, and it will go well with us, and Our King and Kingdom, til, time and conquests shall end in a happy Eternity, Amen.—

And now having finished all, let us take a view and Sum up this vast and wonderful conquest and we shall find the Sum Total to stand as follows:—

Quebec is the metropolis of all the settlements in Canada: But as Montreal is the place where the finishing stroke of this great Conquest was completed, as also its being the Mart where all the Indian trade carried on above Quebec, and the Great Lakes above is transacted and settled I shall begin with that:—

Montreal is the second place of importance in all Canada, as Quebec is the First: It is situated on an island in the River Saint Laurence, and much about midway between Quebec and the Lake Ontario: Although the Navigation of the River Saint Laurence (especially for ships or vessels of any considerable burthen) may be said to end here; the trade of this

place is carried on in smaller vessels : Batteaux, Canoes, and Whale boats the reasons of which are mentioned at large in General Amherst's navigation down from Lake Ontario to Montreal, as in page 159. So that from its Situation, is esteemed the store house of the Indian trade and of the whole Inland navigation to the Mississipi ; all which by the treaty of peace concluded in 1763, is firmly established to the Crown of Great Britain ; which let us pray God, we may long enjoy in peace and quietness :—And now all the french subjects as well as their Allied Nations of Indians, from the Southernmost coast of Nova Scotia to the River Saint Laurence, as well as the Sole Navigation of that River, to the head of the great lakes above Montreal :—All the Indian trade, through that Vast and Boundless tract of Country to the North and West of Nova Scotia ; and which contains many degrees both of Latitude and Longitude, is now in the possession of Great Britain : All the Colonies and Countries on both sides the River Saint Laurence, All along the Esquimaux Shore, on the North side, as the Acadians, and Indians on the South Shore, Miramichia, Rickebucto, and all other places, ports, and Countries, lying along the Gulph of Saint Laurence, made their Submission to Colonel Frye, commanding Officer at the Fort of Chignerto : And which they afterwards ratified, and confirmed by Articles by the Deputies sent by the several States, and Colonies, where they all assembled at Bay Verte, and where with One Consent, they took the Oath of Allegiance, and Fidelity to His Majesty, tendered to them by Brigadier General Lawrence, the Governor of Halifax in Nova Scotia ; And whom they empowered to dispose of themselves, and Effects, as a Sure token of their Submission and future obedience.

And now having finished these Memoirs, wherein is included everything that came to the Journalist knowledge worth observation ; with himself he shall beg the Whole, with one Voice (especially all who laboured hard in all the great Achievements herein mentioned ; which was performed with the greatest labour, and ended with the greatest wonder, recorded in the History of any Nation, to make a total subversion of such a tract of Country, so full of people, by such a handful of men, to make I say the finishing work without Bloodshed). What arm of Flesh could do it : What man is worthy of the honour : None but the Mighty arm of God was stretched out to crown our intollerable labours in the Siege of Quebec with Success :—What power could enable us with

strength of Body, and Fortitude of Mind, to go through the Severeties of hard duty, with cheerfulness and alacrity but God :—What could inspire us with the courage and Resolution to encounter such imminent dangers as we went through but God : What power was it that preserved Brigadier General Monkton when he possessed point de Levy, in a dark night on an unknown shore, surrounded with Woods, and Morasses, in the midst of so vast a number of the Enemy ; who was thoroughly acquainted with every place of consequence, either for Attack or Retreat, while he who was an utter Stranger to the Ground where his feet stood with such a small handful of men, against such a number of the Enemy ; what could that miraculous preservation be ascribed to, but God :—What must that event be charged to, that befell the detachment of Sixteen hundred men sent over to dispossess Brigadier General Monckton, when they fell upon each other to the utter confusion of the whole Scheme ; who could do these great things but God.* What power was it protected our whole Army under the heights of Beauport, when we made that unfortunate attempt upon their intrenchments : No power but God, who by the favour of a Sudden, unexpected storm of rain, under the favour of which, through the assistance of divine providence, we made good our retreat : What was it that inspired the whole Army with such enthusiastick Courage the evening before the Battle on the heights of Abram, when General Wolfe acquainted them with his design, setting before them at the same time, the dangers attending the putting in practice the Execution of it ; when they Cried out with One Voice, *Death or Victory* ; what could fill them with such a spirit of Zeal, for the honour of their Country, but God :—What power was it that put strength into our Arm of flesh, on the day of the Battle on the thirteenth of September, when our small handful of about four thousand five hundred men, to withstand and gain a complete victory over an enemy with five times that number : what power but the Power of God : An innumerable multitude of instances more might be brought to Shew wherein the power and goodness of God was manifestly displayed, during the Siege of Quebec ; but let these above mentioned suffice to Shew that our trust and confidence was not in the Wisdom and Power of Men but in God.

Let the Noble and Wonderful Acts of 1759 and 1760 be recorded in the Annals of future ages ; that the succeeding generations, may behold with astonishment the wonderful things God has done for us : Let them see Quebec, the Capital of all Canada, to be totally Subdued and taken,

and kept in possession, by about four thousand, five hundred men ; and which had been defended and supported by upwards of Forty thousand, of all denominations, who were Actually in Arms against us, and who Surrendered by Capitulation on the Eighteenth day of September, One thousand, Seven hundred and Fifty nine, after a Siege of Eighty Six days.—

We shall next take a survey of the wonderful works of providence, in the surrender of all Canada, in the year One thousand, seven hundred and Sixty, under the Command of General Lord Amherst ; and in which we shall find many great and manifest acts of God's power, and Goodness displayed in a wonderful and Surprizing manner.—

Passing by several things of consequence mentioned in these memoirs, during the time we did duty in the town of Quebec, before the time the Enemy came to besiege and retake it from us :—I shall begin with General Amherst's plan for the operations for the present year.—

And first, what was it, and what can it be attributed to, but the appointment of divine wisdom, that brought Our fleet up the River Saint Laurence, to our assistance and Relief ; he Saw the distress we were in ; hemmed in on every side by our Enemies, and that we had no place of refuge to flee unto, till he in his good time sent us a deliverance : What brought the three Armies so distantly Stationed, and so differently situated : What could bring them so conjunctly together, to the desired Object, but that Almighty wisdom who by the Secret Council of his own Will, over rules and governs all things.—What could so much distress the spirits of the Inhabitants and people of Canada, that at the meeting of our three small detachments which if joined together would appear but a small handful when compared with the great hosts they had in Arms against us : and come to an immediate capitulation without Striking a blow, or even putting themselves in an offensive posture ; but tamely submitted to wear the British yoke, without Murmur or Complaint : What could bring such great events ; to so happy an Issue but God :—What could inspire the rough Soldier with such tender, and human Sentiments, to such of their Enemy who at any time fell into their hands, considering the barbarous treatment they met withal from them in the like cases : What I say, could infuse those tender sentiments into such rough hearts, the God of Love.—

And now having brought to a conclusion what I was so loth to begin, I shall as the close of the whole, give a short sketch of the Barbarous and Inhuman Art of Scalping So much encouraged by the Indians, and Canadians, and so much encouraged by the French Government in America as being expressly contrary to the Rules of their Country, as well as the express orders of their Commandants, to make no Prisoners of War and to bring them the Badge of their Prowess and by them they are so handsomely rewarded; if they at any time fix their own attention on an object, and that God, in his tender mercy towards him, inspires the breast of the inhuman butcher, to spare his life, which very seldom happens to be the Case; they don't carry him prisoner to their french Masters; but carry him home into their own Country; and by chance use him with great lenity, according to their Savage Customs, and often initiate him, as one of their tribes, and send him out sometimes (but not often) with their Warriors, but they are mostly employed in hunting for a Subsistence for the family, wherein he is initiated;—they sometimes (but not often) find means to make their escape; as they are marked with the brand or mark of the tribe to which they belong, and being within the Country, at so great distance from the European Frontiers, that it is next to an impossibility to escape: and if they should attempt, and miscarry: they are butchered with the most Savage barbarity that they can invent.—

But to proceed:—

The person who unhappily falls a Victim into their Savage and Barbarous hands, is first disabled, and disarmed, so as not to be able to make the least resistance, or in any wise defend himself; for when they happen to miss as they very seldom do, being concealed behind some tree, or obscure place, out of sight, or even out of thought, at that time; in which station they continue with the utmost secrecy, till the Object is within their reach, and becomes a dead mark to them:—As soon as the Victim is within their Aim, they Fire, and very often kill him dead on the Spot; for they very seldom miss their aim, being excellent marksmen; however that be, they immediately spring up to him, and with their Butt strike at his head and endeavor to beat out his brains:—If upon their advance towards him, they discover any Signs of resistance, they again take Shelter, as near the Victim as possible, and then taking a cool and deliberate Aim, they throw their Tomma Hawk, an instrument made in

the shape of our Camp hatchets ; the head not quite so large with a sharp turn on the back of the head, resembling a hawk's bill, and a longer handle, but not so thick as our Camp hatchets ; which they throw with great certainty for a considerable distance and seldom miss ; no sooner have they delivered the Tomma hawk out of their hand, but they spring up to him, with their Scalping knife ; which is made in every respect like our Kitchen Carving knives, and generally at the first approach rip him open, and sometimes take out his heart, but not always ; it often happens that time won't permit to perpetrate that barbarous part of their inhuman cruelty :—After all they cut round the top of the crown, to the Skull bone, and raising up one Side the Skin, with the knife, with a jerk they tear it off by the hair, and the work is done ; upon which they set up the Indian Whoop, as a signal to their barbarous Companions that the work is finished, as also a Shout of Triumph.

EXTRACTS
FROM
JOURNAL OF THE PARTICULAR TRANSACTIONS
DURING SIEGE OF QUEBEC

By permission of the proprietor of "Notes and Queries", London

At anchor opposite the Island of Orleans, June 26th, 1759.

" June 27th, 1759. This morning the greatest part of the army landed on the Island of Orleans.

" Afternoon of this day it blew excessively hard, the consequence of which occasioned a great many boats sunk and staved, particularly several transports driving from their anchors and running on shore.

" 28th. The remaining part of the army landed, at which a sudden gale of wind arrised, which endangered the troops debarking, as also damaging the shipping greatly. More boats lost.

" 29th. This morning about 1 o'clock the enemy, by favour of a N. W. wind and ebb of tide, sent down several fire ships and rafts with an intention to destroy the fleets: but the activity of the sailors with their boats and grapplings prevented any bad consequence attending thereto.

" Major Dalling's detachment of Light Infantry under arms all night occasioned to an alarm given by Capt.—of Kennedy's regiment leaving his post, and coming into camp at an unseasonable hour. (1)

(1) See inquiry by General Wolfe as to the cause of the alarm.
" *Collection of letters in the possession of the Right Honorable the Viscount Galway* " No 1.

" The Louisbourg Grenadiers, Major Dalling's Light Infantry, and two companys of Rangers took post on the west end of the Island of Orleans, discovered four separate encampments of the enemy (north side of the river), twixt the Falls of Montmorency and the town, being 10 miles distance, strongly fortified, being the general rendezvous called Beauport where the enemy were constantly employed in rendering defensive from the first appearance of our fleet in the River St. Lawrence.

" This evening 6 men wounded on the west end of the Island of Orleans belonging to Amherst's and Kennedy's regiments.

30th. Amherst's, Kennedy's, Webb's, and Fraser's regiments de-camped from the west end of the Island of Orleans, embarked on board flatbottomed boats, crossed the River St. Lawrence, and landed on the south side. Had some picquering with the enemy's Irregulars, of which they killed 4, took *three* prisoners, and beat the remainder off from a post they occupied opposite to Cape Dramand; after which the army took post at Point Levy, and remained quiet all night without the least molestation.

" This morning two grenadiers of Whitemore's regiment were scalped, and most cruelly mangled on the east end of the Island of Orleans by three lurking Indians, who, after the murder, made their escape in their canoes to the north shore occupied by the enemy.

" July 1st. Bregg's, Lasscell's, and Anstruther's regiments, under the command of Brigadier Townshend, marched from their former camp on the west end to the east point of the Island of Orleans.

" And the Light Infantry from thence to Point Levy on our arrival was informed that the 4 regiments posted here suffered by a cannonading from floating batteries or boats mounting 6 and 9-pounders.

" Amherst's had 4 killed and wounded, and Fraser's 12 men.

" 2nd. A large detachment from the four regiments under the command of Brigadier-General Moncton, flanked by the Light Infantry, escorted *General Wolfe*, who went a reconoitring two miles to the westward of the camp at Point Levy. Discovered a few Canadians and Indians who fired on us from behind a bush. *None hurt.*

" 3rd. Very rainy weather; nothing done; all quiet.

" 4th. This morning a flag of truce sent into town. In the afternoon another sent from town ; the business not known ; excessive rain and thunder, succeeded by lightening. The Light Infantry under orders of marching all this day.

" 5th. Colonel Burton, with the 48th regiment and Major Dalling's Light Infantry, took post opposite the south side of the town.

" The General and Admiral (Saunders) reconnoitered the post, and it's expected a bomb-battery will be erected there.

" 6th. This morning one of Admiral Saunder's barges was taken by some canoes with armed men in them, The sailors got so near on shore that they leaped into the water and escaped, excepting one wounded man who was taken.

" Remained under arms where posted the evening of the 5th till four o'clock this evening, when we marched to the camp at Point Levy.

" At twelve o'clock this night marched to—— ; lay in ambush for a party of Arcadians and Miomac Indians.

" 7th. Lay in a most disagreeable swamp inclosed with wood, where we discovered nothing ; the men were not so silent and attentive as was wished. At 10 o'clock at night marched from here, examining all the houses as we went along, and halted at the church of Beaumont, where the men was lodged. Consisted of 300 the party, 12 miles from camp at Point Levy.

" 8th. Lay in Beaumont Church most of this day. At noon discovered men walking at the border of the woods. Several partys sent out to endeavour to make prisoners. None taken. The partys brought in several sheep, hogs, fowls, etc., with a great quantity of household furniture and wearing apparel, at which conduct Major Dalling seem'd greatly offended. All the household furniture and wearing apparel deposited in the church of Beaumont, with a manifesto fixed on the church door.

" 9th. Marched from Beaumont to Point Levy. On our arrival was informed that General Wolfe the night before had landed on the north side of the River St. Lawrence, and to the eastward of Montmorency Falls with the Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and most of the 2nd and 3rd

brigades. The regiments at Point Levy struck their tents, and remained in the woods for 12 hours, when they encamped on their old ground, which consequently made the enemy imagine the whole were on the north shore, and gave time to *General Wolfe* to take post and fortify his camp.

" 10th. A soldier of the 48th regiment deserted to the enemy from his post.

" Major Dalling, with two companys of his detachment, marched to reinforce Colonel Burton. Towards evening great thunder, lightening, and rain. Little done.

" 11th. Some cannonading from town.

" The enemy has changed their encampments to prevent the annoyance of a battery erected on the opposite side of the Falls of Montmorency, by putting themselves under cover of a hill, which has rendered our battery useless. But notwithstanding it's to be hoped that our engineers will use their outmost efforts to reconoitere their situation, and erect on some advantageous ground another for their amusement.

" Rafts begun this day for transporting men. They are almost the same as projected by the Chevalier Tolar'd, excepting some bad alterations made by Frizer of the Royal Americans, one of the many quacks we import from foreign services. Major Dalling's detachment marched from Point Levy to the battery (erecting where the General and Admiral formerly reconoitred).

" At one o'clock in the morning of the 12th inst. was the last gun mounted. The battery consists of 5 13-in. mortars, and 6 32-pounders.

" 12th. This morning the marines took post in a redoubt above the battery.

" Towards noon some boats discovered coming down the river and landing men, among whom was seen red coats. It's feared the enemy have made prisoners from General Amherst's army.

" Major Dalling's detachment to the westward of the battery (posted).

" About 10 o'clock this night opened the battery on the town, to

where and from whence a great number of shot and shells were fired. None of us hurt.

" 13th. Nothing extraordinary. Posted this night to the right of the battery. Neither shot or shells from either sides.

" 14th. Good weather. Little done. Posted this night to the right of the battery. A few shot and shell fired from our battery, but none from town. Great cannonading to the east of Montmorency by the enemy's batteries.

" 15th. Little done on this side. Fortifying the encampment to the eastward of Montmorency.

" About 12 o'clock this night Capt. Goram of the Rangers found three whale-boats, which he lodged in a copse of wood, and it's thought he intends to surprize a schooner close by the town.

" 16th. A very smart cannonading from town, which has been in fire most of this day. A new bomb-battery erecting to the right of the former.

" This night three ships of war were to pass the town ; and after posting the men under proper cover for saving them from shot or shell we were at length disappointed : the reason not known.

" At 12 o'clock this night, Capt. Goram set out in order to surprise the schooner aforesaid, but after padling one hour he returned to Major Dalling's post, saying he could not find it, which was pretty extraordinary as the schooner still remained in the same creek as formerly, and the distance from the shore could not exceed half a mile.

" 17th. The reasons of the ships not passing the town last night is imputed to want of wind, which is just possible as there was a good breeze on shore.

" 5 men killed and three scalped by the enemy to the eastward of Montmorency. Captain Coseman of the——regt. dangerously wounded, he being fired on when placing some sentinels at an advanced post.

" A soldier of Capt. Carden's company of Light Infantry deserted to the enemy, after killing his comrade.

" A deserter from the enemy informs that they intend to attack our battery at Point Levy, also Colonel Burton's post ; saying that the 13th inst. 1600 men crossed the river on that intention, but returned the 14th on pretence of being discovered.

" The weather continues good. Little doing. Posted by the battery as usual ; neither shot or shell during the night by either sides.

" 18th. This morning General Wolfe reconoitred the opposite or north shore above the town ; seems to think a landing practicable.

" In the afternoon Major Dalling marched with two companys along the south shore three miles to the westward of our post, in order to look for places most convenient for the troops to ascend at the landing on the north shore. He found two or three.

" On our return to our cantonments we were ordered to take a little rest, as we were to escort General Wolfe in the morning."

" July 19th, 1759. At 10 o'clock last night the General came to our cantonments in order to see the shipping pass the town ; at 10 o'clock the Sunderland and Squirrell men-of-war with two transports passed the batterys ; 31 shott fired at them, none of which touched.

" Matched to escort the General, who went on board the Sunderland in a whaleboat : at 3 o'clock in the morning Captain Carden and Fraser's companys with some Rangers marched to a settlement about 7 miles up the river above the town, to endeavor to take prisoners. We crossed a river near it with not the proper precaution ; discovered two or three straggling fellows who got off ; it seemed by the fires in the houses they had been inhabited lately. Found a note on the door of a house begging that we should not sett it on fire, Returned to our cantonments by 10 o'clock at night, and on our arrival marched with the General 4 miles back ; the same communication we came by, where we remained all night. About 11 o'clock the enemy sett up the Indian hoop, and fired small arms ; most probably occasioned to a small alarm.

" 20th, Last night the General went on board the Sunderland ; at eight o'clock this morning marched to our cantonments ; on our way we took a Canadian and his boy about 12 years old prisoners ; one of our men fired at him, and notwithstanding his seeing it impossible to escape,

being surrounded by 100 men, he returned the fire, and killed the soldier a Highlander belonging to Capt. Fraser's company. It was with great difficulty his life was suffered from the fury of the men who were exasperated at the scoundrel's action. He seemed to know little excepting the haunts of the straggling inhabitants.

" 20th. This evening an intelligent deserter from the enemy confirms that the 13th Oct. 1500 men having crossed the river in order to attack our battery and post, but on landing a false alarm made them fire on each other; two Canadians were killed, the Indians fled then, and the detachment returned without presuming to look at one of our sentinels.

" 21st. Rainy weather; marched to escort Admiral Holmes to Capt. Goram's post, being 2 miles from our post. He greatly diffculted how to get on board the shipping as they lay 6 miles above Goram's.

" Arrived the General from on board the *Sunderland*, who informed us he had ordered Colonel Carleton to land at Point au Tremble with Amherst's and Fraser's Grenadiers, and a small detachment of the 3rd B. of R. Americans, which order was put in execution at daybreak in the morning of the 22nd. They were opposed by some Canadians and Indians, who gave way soon. Fraser's Grenadiers pursued too far, killing two Indians, and obliging the remainder to fly, leaving everything behind. Major Prevost, La McDouwel, and one volunteer wounded, with 14 men killed.

" Made a Jesuit, a militia officer, and some peasants, with 150 ladys prisoners. Among which is the Marquis de Beauport. Remained at Goram's post this night.

" Two soldiers of Capt. Simon Fraser's Coy. wounded by a pistol accidentally firing.

" 22nd. Marched from Goram's post as an escort to the General; on our return to our cantonments received orders of marching. At night the town much bombarded, set on fire, and burnt the most of the night. The enemy fired during the night a good many shot and shell; two ships, endeavouring to pass the batterys sustained most of the fire, was obliged to set back with contrary winds, without which they could pass.

" The ladys taken yesterday returned this day; Capt. Smith, Aide de Camp to Gen. Wolfe, not politely used by the French in town.

" 23rd. Remained in our cantonments all day under orders for marching ; detained for want of a guide. At 1 o'clock this night marched the whole detachment of Light Infantry, with 30 Rangers, under the command of Major Dalling. At the time of our departure the town sett on fire, and burnt most of the night.

" 25th. Arrived this morning on the lower settlements of the north side, the River en Chemin, Capt. Fraser's Co. having the van. Seized about 300, including men, women and children, 150 head of cattle, some horses, and several sheep. When we came near camp the above forage was forwarded with Capt. Delaune's Company, as also the prisoners.

" Major Dalling marched to Capt. Goram's house, where the detachment took post till further orders.

" 26th. Marched from last night's post to our cantonments, where we were informed of Capt. Delaune's sending last night a corporal and six men with orders to Major Dalling, who were attacked on the communication by twenty Canadians (as the corporal said). One Rigby, our surgeon's mate, who accompanied the corporal's party was killed with 2 men, 3 taken prisoners, only one escaped with the corporal, who confirmed the above, as also that on returning the corporal killed one of the Canadians.

" Three of the prisoners escaped from Capt. Delaune's Co. of those taken and sent to camp, recommended to the particular case of the captain. " The evening of the 24th curt. Colonel Fraser set out with 300 men of his regt. to take prisoners, and bring in cattle ; as they were marching some miles, east of Beaumont, they were fired on by one man only (as is said) which wounded the Colonel in the thigh, and broke Capt. McPherson's arm.

" After arriving in camp we learnt that the Colonel's van guard was fired on before day, who, according to orders, retired into the wood, and he stepping to some small eminence to give directions to a part of his detachment to move on in a manner formerly directed, his voice making it known to the enemy where the commanding officer stood, three of them directed their fire up the way, which wounded the Colonel and Capt. McPherson in the right thighs.

" 27th. Remained in cantonments all day ; nothing done in camp

In the night the enemy sent down one fire raft containing one hundred stages, lined with combustibles (did no harm).

" 28th. A deserter from the enemy to the westward of Montmorency ; little intelligence.

" 29th. Extreme hot weather ; 13 companys under orders all day ; it was supposed they were to cross Montmorency Falls, and attack a redoubt ; nothing was done. Capt. Ross and Lt. Naim of Colonel Fraser's Regt. fought a duel this morning, very much to the discredit of the former.

" 30th. *Morning intelligence.* A deserter from one of the grenadier cos. on the Island of Orleans going over to the enemy is the reason nothing was done yesterday.

" 30th. A landing was to be endeavoured the 29th, consisting of two regts. from Point Levy, and 13 cos. grenadiers from Orleans, under cover of the fire of two frigates running on shore at high water, which time of the two regts. landing, the troops on the north shore were to cross Montmorency Falls,—Webb's regt. to march along the south shore the length of Goram's, and return in the evening to their former post. The reason of which designing to draw the attention to the quarter. Major Dalling's Light Infantry and Rangers to remain at their posts. Posted this night by the battery as usual.

" 31st. At 12 o'clock this day, two catts with 6-pounders (in place of the supposed frigates) ran on shore, at which time the troops embarked in floats and in boats ; the many motions made by them gave the enemy time to assemble there in force where an attack was most probable. The two catts and the battery to the eastward of Montmorency continued firing till about five o'clock evening, when the 13 cos. Grenadiers from Orleans and the 2 regts. from Point Levy landed on the beach at which time the Montmorency troops crossed below the Falls, it being low water. The Grenadiers formed, and marched up to attack the intrenchment, but by the steepness of a hill directly above them it was found impracticable, sustained a heavy fire for some minutes without their firing a shot, being obliged to retire. Amherst's and the Highlanders covered their retreat, which was done in good order, and without confusion, carrying off the wounded. The troops to the eastward of Montmo-

rency returned to their camp with Fraser's regt., the Grenadiers to Orleans, and Amherst's to Point Levy. As the ships could not be got off there was a necessity of burning them. Killed, 38; wounded, 62; missing, 1.

"Faints made. Brigadier Murray commanded Anstruther's regt. and a body of Light Infantry, with orders to move on as if intending to cross above the aforesaid Falls, and if possible to effect it; and Colonel Barton with Webb's regt. marched along the southern shore in order to *draw the attention of the enemy their way.*

"August 1st. 1759. The weather continues to be very hot; little done; posted in a picquetted orchard.

"2nd. Weather as yesterday. By this day's orders it appears that the General is not very well satisfied with the manner the Grenadiers attacked, as they went on with too great precipitation, also before the troops from the eastward of Montmorency could form to support them. Advanced in so great a hurry that it was impossible to preserve silence or method, nor pay proper regard to the directions given them by their commanding officers, which is the very essence of military discipline. We took possession of a redoubt and a 5 gun battery at the foot of the precipice, but was obliged to abandon it without mailing the cannon.

"Some imputes this, as follows, to be the reason of the Grenadiers' mistake, viz. that the sailors who landed them huzzaed that the Grenadiers from Orleans and Montmorency had joined. And that a certain captain ordered his drummers to beat the march without the desire of the Commanding Officer, which occasioned the miscarriage of the day. A flag of truce from town with a very antick letter from the French governor relating the prisoners taken at Montmorency. Also a very intelligent deserter from the enemy to the westward of Montmorency.

"By intelligence from Admiral Holms, a large body of the enemy are above the town, and is supposed means to cross. This night posted as the former.

"3rd. The weather continues hot; little done; remained at our post this night in order to march in the morning.

"4th. Marched at two o'clock this morning from our cantonments

to Village de Couleur, where we arrived by break of day; surrounded several houses, found no person. About 8 o'clock saw a few Canadians and Indians, but could not come up with them. Drove horses, cows and sheep to camp. On our arrival in camp, was informed of a flag of truce from town with letters for the French prisoners, which is said were all returned unopened. Received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march against to-morrow's evening with the 15th regt. and 200 Marines, under the command of Brigadier-Gen. Murray.

" 5th. All this day under orders of marching. At twelve o'clock this night marched with the 15th regt. and 200 marines to Goram's post, where we remained from 10 o'clock in the morning to 6 o'clock evening of the 6th inst. On the beach waiting the return of flat-bottomed boats, which did not arrive for fear of being discovered, as our embarkation was to be made with the greatest secrecy; when we thought we were liable to be discovered we drew off from the beach, and took position some houses about a mile west of Goram's post.

" 6th. Marched from last night's posts, and crossed the River Elsé Chemin with the 15th regt. and 200 Marines; about one hour thereafter, embarked on board the Sunderland man-of-war, and the remaining part of the troops distributed to the different vessels proportionate to the vessels' accommodation, where the whole remained all night.

" 7th. Remained on board the Sunderland man-of-war till three o'clock this evening, when Capt. Simon Fraser's, co. of Light Infantry were ordered to be embarked on board the sloop Good Intent. A fine open country on both sides the river, 18 leagues above or west of the town. At twelve o'clock this night were ordered to be ready to embark on board the flat-bottomed boats; counter-ordered at two o'clock in the morning of the 8th inst.

" 8th. This morning by 10 o'clock were ordered to embark on board our boats (it being tide of flood) to attempt a landing on the north shore opposite to the church of Poin au Tremble. The disposition of our landing was that Major Dalling's Light Infantry (being but 3 cos.) should lead and land first. The Marines to bring up the rear of the 15th regt. When the signal was made (which was a wave of the brigadier's hat) a reef of rocks ahead rendered it impossible to row directly in; Capt. Simon Fraser ordered two boats to row a little to the left, which was

followed by the boat in which he was, containing the remaining part of the company belonging to him, who got clear of the rocks, pushed directly in, and landed. We drew up on the beach opposite to a body of the enemy posted in a copse in our front. Capt. Fraser discovering another body on our left, besides several smaller parties moving between the copse and the houses of the village Point au Tremble, he thought it imprudent to begin an attack before some more men were landed. He therefore cry'd to Brigadr Murray (whose boat was then near our shore) to order more men to land. On which the Brigadr. landed along with his Brigade Major (Maitland), Colonel Carleton, and Capt. Stobo, seeming dissatisfied with the slowness of the other two companys at landing, unfairly attributing the cause to shyness, when in reality it was owing to two boats runing on the reef of rocks formerly mentioned. So soon as the boats floated Capt. Delaune pushed in landing where Capt. Fraser's co. were drawn up, but as the difference of time twixt Capt. Fraser's landing and Capt. Delaune's were about 16 minutes, most of the former company were three feet deep in water, being tide of flood, which damaged part of their amunition. Another great obstacle which disconcerted the Brigadr. that the boats in which the remaining part of the troops were embarked must row against tide, in consideration of which the General thought proper to order a retreat to be beat ; the two companys drew off, reembarked in their respective boats without much confusion, but sustained part of the enemy's fire.

“ After drawing off from shore, the General ordered the killed and wounded on board a sloop who was exchanging some shot with one of the enemy's floating batteries. As also the dry amunition to be proportionably divided, and the whole to prepare for a second attack, in the same order as the former. We accordingly rowed in shore, but we found all the copse better lined than formerly, and from our boats could discover a considerable body of the enemy behind a church, another body on a road about 500 yards from thence, and those in the copse as formerly. The whole appear'd formidable, as an officer on horseback went from one body to another, viz. that posted on the beach, the other on the road, and the one posted by the church aforesaid to deliver orders (as may be supposed). However, Major Dalling pursued the directions given him : when we came within gun-shot of the enemy, they gave us so heavy a fire of musketry that our landing was impracticable, besides, nor could our sailors stand by their oars for some minutes. Upon seeing the boats

wherein the regts. were embarked pulled about, the soldiers seized the oars, backed water, and drew off from the fire. We learnt that upon the General's seeing these large bodys of the enemy in the village, he ordered the retreat to be beat, which we did not hear, being under the fire of the enemy. On this repulse, the whole of the troops reembarked on board their respective ships. The following is an account of the killed and wounded of the three companys of Light Infantry: 10 officers wounded; 36 privates wounded, and 26 killed.

" N. B. Also 10 sailors killed and wounded belonging to the Sunderland man-of-war ".

" August 9th, 1759. Employed in disposing and carrying for the wounded the most of the day. At nine o'clock this night the Brigadr. ordered Lt. Crofton of the Rangers to land on the south shore in order to take a prisoner. He accordingly with 20 men landed, surprized a barn in which there were 9 Canadians, killed 4, and took 5 prisoners.

" 10th. This morning embarked on board our flatt-bottomed boats, in order to land on the south shore, in the same order as the 8th inst. About half an hour after 7 o'clock rowed in and landed, after sustaining a small fire from the enemy, of whom we killed five, and took a captain of militia prisoner. Our loss consisting of 1 private killed, 6 wounded, and Lt. Sam. Rutherford of Amherst's regt. Wounded.

" After we beat off the enemy, we took possession of an eminence where we encamped, strongly situated opposite to our ships, near village St. Nicholas, 21 miles from Point Levy camp.

" 11th. Remained in camp; nothing done.

" 12th. Very rainy weather. This morning a schooner from below joined our fleet; the mr. of reports that two catt's with a regt. on board endeavoured to pass the town, but were obliged to put back by the brisk cannonading of the batterys.

" 13th. A detachment of 400 men under the command of Major Dalling marched to the eastward to reconoitre the country; they were fired on by a small party of Canadians, who made the following execution, viz. Capt. Cardn wounded, also 4 wounded of the Rangers. On which the General ordered all the houses east of our post (in the parish of St.

Croix) to be sett on fire, and at the same time fixed a manifesto on the church door, declaring that if they should anoye any of our troops passing or repassing the communication, for the future, that no quarter will be given the inhabitants when taken, without exception or respect of person. The detachment took a great number of cattle ; no prisoners.

“ 14th. This morning 7 marines straggled about 800 yards from the camp, who was taken by the enemy, part of whom they massacred and left on the beach in order to be discovered, in return of which cruelty the General marched with the two battalions, viz. Amherst's and the 2nd Battln Royal A., 3 miles east of our camp in the village of St. Nicholas, setting fire to all the houses belonging thereto. Neither prisoners or cattle brought in to camp.

“ 15th. Remained in camp all day ; the weather rainy. Nothing extraordinary.

“ 16th. This forenoon a small party of the enemy shewed themselves to the left of our encampment, but were repulsed by a few of our advanced guard.

“ 17th. This forenoon the General gave in orders that the two battalions and two companys of Light Infantry should prepare to embark on board their respective vessels, as the former distribution. At 10 o'clock we struck our tents and embarked, where we remained till the night following. The other company of Light Infantry with the two hundred marines to remain on shore till further orders, under the command of Capt. Fraser.

“ 18th. At 12 o'clock this day embarked Capt. Simon Fraser with Delaune's co. of Lt. Infantry. At the same time the General called for commanding officers of companys in order to explain to them his order of battle at landing next, or at the attack intended on the village Chambeau, where according to intelligence formerly given (by prisoners taken), there are some magazines, and consequently men to endeavour their defence. After which explanation the General sent orders to the commanding officers of the marines to keep the tents of the two regts. standing, that as the enemy might discover the embarkation of Delaune's company in the daytime, seeting the camp as formerly excepting the tents of the Light Infantry, as also keeping the face of the encampment as formerly

with a number of large fires, that from these circumstances the enemy will probaly conjecture that the tents struck is only the Light Infantry, being detached, &c Likewise oblige them to keep their quarters, not knowing the Infantry's intention or destination. At 11 o'clock we embarked in boats, and agreable to orders rendevouzed at the Ward transport. At 12 o'clock we sett off accompany'd by two floating batterys, for the intended attack of Chambeau, which lies on the north shore, 7 leagues up the river above Point au Tremble and 21 leagues from Quebec.

" 19th. By daybreak we drew nigh the rendevouze formerly mentioned, at the same time discovered a large topsail schooner on her way from shore, and bearing down upon us, which would not be so convenient ; but in a little time they altered their course, by which we understood they only meant to scheere off. About an hour after we landed, to our surprize without opposition, being two miles below the church of St.-Joseph. We formed a column, Delaune's and Carden's company forming the van, and Fraser's company, with a detachmt of Royal Americans, the rear guard. As churches were generally the posts they occupyed we marched in the aforsaid order without any molestation, excepting a few shott on our rear which did not disturb us much. When our van came in sight of the church of St. Joseph, a capt. of De La Sare's regiment with about 60 regulars made a show of making a stand, which obliged the Brigadier to make a disposition of attacking, not knowing but they might be part of a larger body. On their seeing the head of our column draw nigh, the capt. and his men withdrew to the wood without firing a shott. Near this church found a store-house in which store was all the effects, including equipage and apparel, of all the officers in Quebec, civil and military, besides arms and ammunition, the whole valued at 90,000 pounds sterling money, which we consumed by fire. We remained at Chambeau till $\frac{1}{4}$ past three o'clock in the evening being low water we embarked on board our boats, carrying off some sheep, leaving 100 cattle shott on the beach. Major Dalling's Light Infantry covered the retreat, which was done in pretty good order, and without the loss of one man. After we were embarked, and about 500 yards from shore, the General ordered one Capt. Mophak, a sea officer who had the command and direction of the flatt-bottomed boats when without the troops or at embarking or debarking, with two floating batterys and two flatt-bottomed boats with troops in them, to attack the schooner which lay dry on the south shore. On the boats approaching the enemy fired

two shott, abandqn'd her, and sett her on fire. As we were coming down the river we was fired on by a party of Canadians from behind logs on the south shore ; none hurt. Arrived at 10 o'clock this night at our camp ; part of the troops did not disembark.

" 20th. The remaining part of the troops disembarked, and the marines in camp embarked. Rainy weather. At night disturbed by our sentry's firing at some straggling enemy coming to sculk by our camp ; the Light Infantry under arms till day, during which time it rained very hard.

" 21st. This morning the Brigadr (Genl Murray) sent to the camp desiring Capt. Fraser to come on board, signifying to him that he considered a diversion up the river to be of great consequence, and that every measure practicable should be taken to destroy the French shipping (which lay about 24 leagues above the town or city of Quebec) in order to clear the communication twixt us and Mr. Amherst, proposing to send Capt. Fraser with despatches to his Excellency General Wolfe, which afterwards was dropt. Forenoon of this day Admiral Holmes went on board a schooner in order to go and reconoitre the French shipping and sound the channel.

" 22nd. Some of our men went to pull pease this forenoon, who discovered a party of the enemy and returned. At night the Admiral returned from his reconoitring cruise.

" 23rd. A few men on horseback made their appearance this morning, but on seeing a small party of our men make towards them they thought proper to retire. At 12 o'clock received orders to get under arms, the whole to march in three separate divisions, viz. the 3rd battalion Roy. Americans to the right of our camp the length of St. Croix, the 15th regt. with Capt. Fraser's co. of Lt. Infantry the length of St. Nicholas to the left of our camp, under the command of the General, the former division by Majr. Dalling ; the 3rd division in boats, consisting of co. Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. Charters of the Royal Americans. The consequence of which scout ended in burning a battery, a sloop, and 2 saw milns. The real intention was that if any of the enemy made their appearance, and that we could not bring them to battle, Capt. Simon Fraser with his co. and 50 volunteers of the 15th regt. were to lay in ambush till next morning, when they were to retire. At night Major

Dalling returned with his division, exchanged a few shott with the enemy, and made one prisoner.

" 24th. The General gave orders for the whole to prepare to embark against tomorrow.

" 25th. This morning fell down the Squirrel, a sloop-of-war, with the admiral, general, and the wounded officers.

" In the evening the 15th regt. and 3rd battalion Roy. Americans embarked. Capt. Frazer's co. covered the retreat ; the enemy fired on us a few shot, only one sustained.

" 26th. An order from General Wolfe desiring Colonel Young with the 3rd B. Roy. Americans and 200 marines to land, and keep possession of our former ground at St. Anthony. The 15th regt. and Lt. Infantry to embark on board their flatt-bottomed boats, and return to Point Levy.

" 27th. Passed the batterys ; not one shott fired at us. Arrived at Point Levy at 4 o'clock, where we learnt that 1000 of the enemy in boats went up the river, who, they imagined, would fall in with us in coming down the river. General Wolfe indisposed ; greatly regreted by the whole army. We were ordered to take post in our former cantonments 3 miles from Point Levy camp, and to the westward of our battery.

" 28th. Remained in our cantonments all day ; nothing extraordinary happened. At night, by favour of the flood and an easterly gale the Lostoff frigate, Hunter sloop-of-war, two catts, and one schooner passed the town ; 200 shott fired at them ; one sailor killed, and two wounded.

" The face of the camp at Point Levy entirely changed owing to the great encouragement given to venders of all kinds.

" 29th. We are informed at Point Levy camp that three Rangers have brought in three scalps from St. Andre, and took a courier with letters, orders, and directions to the captains of militia and friers, desiring them to keep constant guards, and inform the inhabitants that we shall be soon obliged to leave the country.

" 30th. By order of his Excellency General Wolfe the three Brigadiers

assembled in order to consult the measures most practicable for the good of the service. The result of the conference not known by us.

" 31st. By a deserter we are informed that the enemy are sickly, and discontented with their Indians. Meeting four Indians of the Mowhank tribe with an officer from General Amherst, treacherously deceived them by pretending friendship, and at the same time conducted to a party of French, who made them prisoners, and they are confined on board the frigates formerly mentioned. At night the Sea Horse man-of-war, three cutts, and one schooner passed the town : after receiving alarm, cannonading from the battery. None hurt.

September 1st. All the houses below Montmorency Falls, or to the eastward, sett on fire by our army. This forenoon some cannon carried from the Montmorency side to the camp at Point Levy. Our troops there expect an attack from the enemy this night, which is very desirable to all our gentlemen.

" 2nd. The remaining cannon carried from Montmorency this day.

" The Assistant Qr-Master-General marked the encampments for the Brigade and Lt. Infantry from Montmorency to the left of our cantonments. We hear that the additional company of our regt. are in the river.

" 3rd. This morning the troops at Montmorency decamped, embarked in boats without the least molestation or advantages taken at that important time of their drawing off. Passing the Point of Orleans, the enemy fired from their batterys (to the westwd of the Falls) both shott and shells none of which made any execution. The enemy's generosity in the above particular and critical juncture is a plain proof that Monsieur Montcalm will make no other use of the Canadians then defend their capital. He must be concerned to see Montmorency abandoned, it not being safe for him to depend on part of his troops to give the least annoyance ; likewise permitting us to detach what numbers we please, to lay waste their country, and still remain in his entrenched camp at Beauport.

" This day Captn. Cameron of Colonel Fraser's regt. died, much and justly regreted, as he was a most agreeable, sensible, and benevolent man.

" We hear the Sunderland man-of-war was attacked the night of the 29th ulto. by 75 bataves; the enemy were repulsed with the loss of 4 bataves taken. In orders, the Light Infantry commanded by Capt. Carden to return to the regt. and all the corps of Lt. Infantry to receive their orders from Colonel How.

" 4th. An officer and three Rangers arrived in camp with dispatches from General Amherst to General Wolfe, whom they left at Crown Point the 8th of Aug. making all preparations necessary for pursuing his design and first the possession of Lake Champlaine. We hear nothing of the contents in these dispatches further than a random shott carrying off Colonel Townshend, one ensign and three men of the Light Infantry.

" This evening Capt. Cameron aforesaid buried, and Capt. Fraser of Culduthell with his additional company arrived in the harbour.

5th. The whole of our Light Infantry, under the command of Colonel How, to march $\frac{1}{2}$ one mile to the westward of Goram's post (formerly mentioned), where they are to embark on board the men-of-war and transports. As we were passing the river Elre Chemin the enemy fired from a two-gun battery. None of us hurt; prodigiously crowded on board.

6th. Nothing extraordinary. We drove up with the flood tide opposite Cape Rouge, discovered some men on the north shore fortyfying the bay to the eastward of the Cape, as also a house which they occupy'd.

" This evening his Excellency General Wolfe, with the three Brigadiers and the army of the intended attack, embarked. The army in great spirits.

" 7th. Remains on the same anchorage ground as yesterday. The General in the Hunter sloop-of-war went up the length of Point au Tremble to reconoitre. The enemy continues to work on the north shore.

8th. The General with the Hunter sloop returned at 12 o'clock, orders for 1500 men to prepare to land on north shore, and wait the night tide, under the command of the Brigadiers Moncton and Murray.

" A FAINT.

" The Hunter sloop-of-war, one transport with Roy. Americans, and

another with Light Infantry, to fall up to Point au Tremble, and return with the ebb tide in the morning. The weather very rainy.

" 9th. The weather continues very rainy, which prevents the 1500 men landing. We remained off Point au Tremble. The remaining vessels in their former station opposite to Cape Rouge. We can't perceive any works on the beach, only small entrenchments from the mill to a house about 300 yards to the eastward (belonging to Point au Tremble), and discovers but very few men. 60 bataves on shore; no floating batteries.

" 10th. At 8 o'clock this morning returned to Cape Rouge with the ebb tide. This morning a part of the army landed on the south shore, as also three companys Light Infantry, in order to refresh the men and dry their camp equipage after the constant heavy rains we had these two past days. Capt. Fraser's co. remained on board by lott.

" The General went down the river to reconoitre the north shore.

" A soldier of Capt. Delaune's co. fell overboard and drowned.

" 11th. Nothing extraordinary. The troops that landed yesterday remains on shore; the situation of the enemy the same as the two past days.

" 12th. By this day's orders it appears the General intends a most vigorous attack, supposed behind the town, where to appearance a landing is impracticable.

" Our disposition terminates thus: that the Light Infantry are to lead and land first, in order to maintain a picquering with the enemy (as also cover the troops' debarkation) till the army take a footing on the heights.

" We are to embark on board our flatt-bottomed boats by 12 o'clock and upon the Sunderland man-of-war shewing a light, we are to repair to that rendezvouze, where the boats will range in a line and proceed when ordered in the manner directed; viz. the Light Infantry the van, and the troops to follow by seniority. The army compleated to 70 rounds amunition each man; and the flatt-bottomed boats to repair to the different vessells, and proportionably divide according to the number on board the ship.

" By 10 o'clock Colonel How called for the whole of the volunteers in the Light Infantry, signifying to them, that the General intends that a few men may land before the Light Infantry and army, and scramble up the rock, when ordered by Capt. Delaune, who is to be in the first boat along with us ; saying that he thought proper to propose it to us, as he judged it would be a choice, and that if any of us survived, might depend on our being recommended to the General. Made answer : We were sensible of the honour he did, in making us the first offer of an affair of such importance as our landing first, where an opportunity occurred of distinguishing ourselves, assuring him his agreeable order would be put in execution with the greatest activity, care, and vigour in our power. He observing our number consisted only of eight men, viz. :—

" 1st. Fitz-Gerald.	5th. Makenzie,
" 2nd. Robertson.	6th. McPherson.
" 3rd. Stewart.	7th. Cameron.
" 4th. McAllester.	8th. Bell.

Ordered we should take 2 men each of our own choice from three companies of Lt. Infantry, which in all made 24 men. Which order being put in execution we embarked in our boat. Fine weather, the night calm, and silence over all.

" Waiting impatiently for the signal of proceeding.

" September 12th and 13th. Morning, 2 o'clock, the signal was made for our proceeding, which was done in pretty good order, the same disposition formerly mentioned. When we came pretty close to the heights we rowed close in with the north shore, which made the Hunter sloop-of-war, who lay off, suspect us to be an enemy, not being apprised of our coming down. However, we passed two sentries on the beach without being asked any questions. The third sentry challenged, who is there ? Was answered by Capt. Fraser in the French tongue, French, saying we are the provision boats from Montreal, cautioning the sentry to be silent, otherwise he would expose us to the fire of the English man-of-war. This took place till such time as their officer was acquainted, who had reason to suspect us, ordering all his sentrys to fire upon us ; but by this time the aforesaid volunteers was up the eminence, and a part of the Light Infantry following. After we got up we only received on

fire, which we returned briskly, and took a prisoner, the remaining part of the enemy flying into a field of corn. At same time we discovered a body of men making towards us, who we did not know (it being only daybreak), but were the enemy ; we put ourselves in the best posture of making a defence : two of us advanced, when they came close, and challenged them, when we found it was Capt. Fraser with his co., who we join'd, and advanced to attack this party of the enemy lodged in the field, who directly fled, before us ; by pursuing close the Lieut. and his drummer came in to us. In this interval the whole of the Light Infantry were on the heights, and a part of the regts. We remained till the whole army took post, when we were detached to silence a battery who kept firing on our shipping who were coming down the river. This was effected without the loss of a man ; the enemy placed one of the cannon to flank us crossing a bridge, which they fired, drew off, and got into the woods which was within forty yards of the battery. We demolished the powder and came away.

“ On our return we saw our army forming the line of battle ; we (Light Infantry), who stood at about 800 paces from the line, were ordered to face outwards, and cover the rear of our line, as there was a body of the enemy in their rear and front of the Light Infantry. About 6 o'clock observed the enemy coming from town, and forming under cover of their cannon ; we saw they were numerous, therefore the General made the proper disposition for battle ; they marched up in one extensive line. When they came within a reconnoitring view they halted, advancing a few of their Irregulars, who kept picquering with one or two platoons, who were advanced for that purpose, at the same time playing with three field pieces on our line. On which the General ordered the line to lay down till the enemy came close, when they were to rise up and give their fire. The enemy, thinking by our disappearing, that their cannon disconcerted us, they thought proper to embrace the opportunity ; wheeling back from the centre, and formed three powerful columns, advanced very regular with their cannon playing on us. By this time we had one field piece on the right, and two howats on the left who began to give fire ; the enemy huzza'd, advancing with a short trot (which was effectually shortened to a number of them) they began their fire on the left, the whole of them reclining that way, but received and sustained such a check that the smell of gun-powder became nauseous ; they broke their line, running to all parts of the compass.

" To our great concern and loss General Wolfe was mortally wounded ; but the Brigadiers, who were also wounded, excepting Murray, seeing the enemy break, ordered the Grenadiers to charge in among them with their bayonets, as also the Highlanders with their swords, which did some execution, particularly in the pursuit.

" During the lines being engaged, a body of the enemy attacked a part of the Light Infantry on the right, were repulsed, and thought proper to follow the fait of traverse sailing. As I was not in the line of battle I can't say what the latest disposition of the enemy was before engaging.

" How soon this action was over we received a part of our intrenching tools, and began to make redoubts, not knowing but next morning we would have another to cut, as the enemy expected 13 companies of Granadiers to join, and about 2000 men who occupy'd a post near Point au Treamp, but it seemed they were not recovered of the former morning's portion : not liking English medicines.

" This affair gave great spirit to the whole army, notwithstanding the loss of the much regretted Life of the Army, General Wolfe. The men kept sober, which was a great maxim of their bravery.

" Towards the evening a part of the enemy, who were of the Regulars, formed, who seemed to make a shew of standing ; Colonel Burton, 48th regt. was drawn opposite with a field piece in their front, which disputed them We took post in our redoubts ; not having the camp equipage on shore, part of the army lay on their arms in the field till next morning. All quiet during the night of the 13th."

LETTERS AND PAPERS
RELATING TO THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE MARQUESS TOWNSHEND

1758, Dec. 21st. Lieut.-General Sir Richard Lyttleton, K. B., to
Brigadier General the Hon. George Townshend (afterwards 4th Viscount
Townshend and 1st Marquis Townshend). Dated in Cavendish Square.

" My dear George,

I beg you will lose no Time, but come to Town directly ; I am not
allowed to explain myself by this letter, but you may be sure my Reasons
are very cogent. I should not otherwise write in this manner, but it is
highly important to you to lose no Time.

Your Faithful Friend,

RICHARD LITTLETON."

[P.S.] Lord Orford's Game is not arrived.

Dec. 28th, 1758. The same to the same. Dated in Cavendish Square.
My dear Brigadier,

Lord Legonier was yesterday in the Closet, your affair was mention'd
and very *Graciously* agreed to by His Majesty. I congratulate you most
sincerely upon the honour this spirited, and magnanimous acceptance of
yours, will do you in the World, as soon as it becomes known ; & upon
the Glory you will obtain, and I flatter myself the short Time you will
be absent, and the small risque you will probably run, in this Enterprize,
will in some degree reconcile good Lady Ferrers to it ; I pity her from

my Heart, but her Religion, & Philosophy will I hope, enable her to bear up under it ; & that she will consider how different her Lot is, from the many widow'd wives, who mourn from Year to Year the Absence of their Husbands. I hope you will let her know that in all this matter, I have had nothing more to do than to lend my Hand to the Marshall, & as a Friend zealous for your Glory to applaud with all Mankind a Resolution that you yourself have taken.

I am ever, my Dear George, your most Faithfull & Affectionate,

RICHARD LYTTLETON."

1759, March 14th. Revd Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers. Dated at Great Snoring. 6½ pp.

The Postscript is :—

" I am told by those who have been at N. America that tis very probable, as the winds have greatly favor'd, that Mr Townshend [your husband] by this time is in Sight of the Country, or not unlikely to be landed in it."

1759, April 24th. Brigadier Amherst (afterwards Lord Amherst) to Brigadier Townshend. Dated at New York, and addressed to the " Honble Mr Townshend, Brigadier General.

" Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure on the 13th of this month of receiving your very obliging letter of the 5th of March ; your kind assurances of friendship to me, of which I have so often had proofs, make me very happy and I shall try to prove myself deserving of the continuance of it.

I am in great hopes that this Campaign may be attended with such success as will give me an opportunity of meeting you, but I wont flatter myself you will remain in this part of the world ; I should be sorry you did any longer than you like. Your assistance in the service where I am would be a great help, and very agreeable to me, and you may be assured I would make it as much so to you as I could.

Colouel [the Hon. Roger] Townshend will inform you of every thing that passes here, so that I will trouble you no more at present than that

I shall gladly seize every occasion that may offer to convince you of the regard and esteem with which I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant

JEFF. AMHERST."

1759, June 7th. Colonel the Hon. Roger Townshend to Lady Ferrers.
From the "Camp at Fort Edward."

"Dear Lady Ferrers,

It is with the greatest pleasure that I can inform you I received a Letter from [my brother] George a few days ago dated at Hallifax May the 1st, the whole Fleet was arrived safe & he was in perfect health; I have taken care to supply him with fresh Provisions of all kinds, & a large quantity of Vegetables & Roots of all kinds, which are very necessary after a long Sea Voyage, he will want nothing while he is up the River [St Lawrence] that the Continent of America affords & he requires to be sent. Our affairs at present appear very favorable, no accounts as yet of the Enemy having received any Reinforcements, from Old France, & our Fleet under Adml Durel is certainly so very high up the River that it is impossible for them to receive any this Year without a superior Fleet which it is impossible for them to fit out. My opinion of Genl Amherst as an honest good Man, & my attachmt to him as a Soldier I thought wou'd never allow me to wish that I might serve under any other person in America, but the tye of Brother & Friend united is too powerful & I confess nothing ever gave me more real concern than not being employed on the same Expedition, I shall write to you by every Pacquet, may our Armys all be successful & Canada reduced this Year, George return home in safety to receive the praises due to him from his K[in]g & Country for his truly noble & spirited behavior in assisting at the Reduction of Canada, the consequence of this conquest can be no less than our giving Peace to France on any terms we please. My love to [my nephew] George & your little folks, & believe me nobody can have a more real regard, affection, & Friendship for you & your Familly than your Affectionate Brother & real Friend,

R. TOWNSHEND.

P. S. Since I wrote this the L^d Governor of New England writes the Army & Fleet were all well at Louisburg, June the 3d, & expected to sail up the River on the 12th. Adm^l Durrell has been successful and sent in four Prizes. We have no doubts of success. Our Army crosses the Lake in this month or early the next. The Enemy have got up the River a few merch[an]tmen with Provisions & one Frigate before the adm^l arrived at his Station, they are of no consequence."

1759, July 11th. Revd. Robert Lecke to the same. Dated at Great Smoring.

.... "When I took my Leave of him, I desired him to accept from me as the best Present I or any one else could make him, wch. was a Noble Collection of devotions suited to all Occasions, the Use, of this I told him would engage Providence on his Side, & providce. would be his only Security. He thanked me, and told me he should make use of it, but must let no other officers know. that he had such a book by him. So prophane is the Army, that they think the help of God is of little or no Mom[en]t "

1759, July 20th. Admiral Sir Charles Saunders to Brigadier Townshend. Dated on board the 'Stirling Castle' and unaddressed.

"My dear Sir,

By General Wolfe's desire I have sent you three Long boats for the Hautbitzers great and small, and the Royal mortars, I shall soon send for Cannon as the General designs to make his Attack above the Town. I am with the greatest regard

Dear Sir

Yours

CHAS. SAUNDERS.

[P. S.] I believe it wou'd be best not to let the Enemy see these thing[s] removed."

1759, Sept. 6th. Brigadier Townshend to Lady Ferrers. Dated at "Camp Levi," and unaddressed.
My Dearest Charlotte

I hope Mr Perceval will arrive safe & bring you these two letters from me. The Happiness of writing to you is beyond all I know. My

Concern for your sufferings, my affection for you & your Dear little ones, convince me how unfit I am for this Sceene, which another Month will thank God give a Conclusion to. The Captive Women & Children which I see every Day brought in here, often tell me what I am & who belong to me, but above all, the malencholly News I received the Day before yesterday upon my arrival here from the cursed Camp of Montmorenci of my poor Brother's death has reproved me for not consulting my own nature more, when I ask'd you to [let me] return to the Army. It had then pleaded for you, when you did not plead for yourself & I had not been now in a Sceene of Ambition, Confusion, & Misery; and you oppress'd as I know you must be, with Terrours & affliction. I dare say poor Lady Tounshend too now starts at every knock at the Door. Let us look up with hopes my Charlotte to the Disposer of all things & trust he will in his Mercy & Goodness do all for the best. I have wrote a line to poor Lady Tounshend to comfort her by convincing her of my own Health & safety. One month more will put an End to our Troubles. I never served so disagreeable a Campaign as this. Our unequal Force has reduced our Operations to a Sceene of Skirmishing Cruelty & Devastation. It is War of the worst Shape. A Sceene I ought not to be in, for the future believe me my dear Charlotte I will seek the reverse of it.

Genl Wolf's Health is but very bad. His Generalship in my poor opinion—is not a bit better, this only between us. He never consulted any of us till the latter end of August, so that we have nothing to answer for I hope as to the Success of this Campaign, which from the Disposition the French have made of their force must chiefly fall to Genl Amherst & Genl Johnson.

God bless you my most Dear Wife, my blessing to my Children, my good George in particular, and thank him for his Letters. I have constantly thanked God for the succes in the Innoculation, a most comfortable circumstance for you. Mr Barker has been slightly wounded. Mr Gay quite recover'd & join'd us. Our Campaign is just over. I shall come back in Adl Saunders's Ship & in two months shall again belong to those I ought never to have left—Adieu—Your most affecte Husband, & faithfull friend

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

[1759 ? Sept.] Lady Townshend, to her daughter-in-law Lady Ferrers. Undated and unaddressed.

" Dear Lady Ferrers

I take the benefit of being a little better in my health to day to thank you for your kind letter some times being very incapable of writing a single line.

I hope Charles' last letter to you afforded you a relieff to your spirits.

I trust in God we shall all soon be in a much happier situation by receiving the good News we most ardently wish for.

My Compliments to Lady Elizabeth Compton and affectionate Love to the children.

[1758, Sept. 3rd.] Lieut. Genl John Huske to the same. Dated " Fryday noon."

" My Lady

I have the infinite satisfaction to acquaint you that Genl Townshend was in fine health & Spirits at the Seige of Quebeck on the 5th of July, the day it commenced. This come by express to Govt this day. But as Colo R[oger] Townshend is desperately wounded at the seige of Tyconderogo, under the Command of Genl Amherst, I take the liberty to send you this by Express that you may place full faith & entire Confidence that it is not the Genl but Colonel Townshend that is wounded.

The express comes from N. York, so your Ladyship cannot possibly have any Letters from the General.

The news is great.

Tyconderogo & Crown Point are taken by Genl Amhurst, And Niagara is taken by Genl Johnson (General Prideaux being killed during the Seige) after a severe Battle with a French Army sent to raise the seige. I am this moment going to Oxfordshire post, or should send your Ladyship all the particulars, being, with the greater deference etc.

J. HUSKE."

1759, Sept. 10th. Revd Robert Leeke to the same, from Great Snoring.

" My very hd Lady

I had the honr of your Ladysps this day, & should have gone immediately to Rainham, & deliver'd yr Message to my Ld in Person, & deliver'd it with all the tenderness wch the Subject required, & with all the Concern you feel for the loss of Coll Roger [Townshend] & for my Ld the Parent: But my Ld is not at Rainham, he hath been upon an hired Seat ever since the Middle of July last, at the Edge of Hartfordshire, within 12 Miles of London Nigh the new house Admiral Byng built just before he sufferr'd—but I shall write to my Ld this day & by Letter acquaint him of yr Kind Concern for his Ldsp & for the great affliction you feel for the loss of his Son.

Yr Ladysps Letter says, that the Troops with yr husband landed nigh Quebec the 5th of July last, if so I wonder we have not heard from that part of the world Since, either of the troops being repulsed or the Place taken—if neither Event hath happened then there hath been a long Siege, & I fear many of our Men must have suffer'd, when order'd to march against Stone Walls. . . . Mrs Leeke presents her duty . . . we both Pray God to compleat all our happiness in bringing Brigadier Townshend safe into his own Country . . .

RT. LEEKE."

1759, Sept. 13th. Admiral Saunders to Brigadier Townshend. Dated on board the " Stirling Castle," and unaddressed.

" Dear Sir,

The loss of our friend General Wolfe gives me the greatest concern which in some measure is taken off by the great Victory of today: as I have not heard how you are situated, I have sent all the 24 Pounders, with their Ammunition, that I had Boats for, till those are cleared that are now above. I heartily wish you farther Success, and should be glad to know what I can do to promote it. I have had the dispatches General Wolfe sent me to go with the great Ships. They are not gone, and I shall keep them till I have Yours. I beg my best Compliments of General Murray and that you will believe me most sincerely

Yours—

CHAS SAUNDERS,

Same date. Lady Townshend to Lady Ferrers.

" My dear Lady Ferrers,

Believe me nothing but the being incapable of writing a single line should have prevented me thanking you for your tender concern for me.

I trust in God that he will preserve the most dear thing to us in life and from that dependance am still able to support myself enough to be in hopes to exist to receive that greatest of blessings.

E. TOWNSHEND.

[P. S.] Charles is with me and writes to you by this post."

1759, Sept. 15th. Hon. Charles Townshend to the same. Dated at Grosvenor Square.

" Dear Madam,

I am very happy to think that any letter from me has given you any relief: and I shall watch every opportunity of informing your Ladyship of whatever account we receive that can help to alleviate your fears and support your mind. I would say much more, both of your situation, Lady Townshend's, my own, our late unhappy common loss, & many other subjects, but indeed I am not able to bear the reflexions they bring with them: if it were in my power by any means to assist you, I should be rejoiced to find myself so useful, but, as that can not be, I must not add to your grief by dwelling upon the cause of it.

The wind is contrary and no ship could have come up the river this day: as soon as any news arrives, you will learn it from me. All things go well, as you know from the last account I sent you.

Lady Townshend continues as she has been: she desires her love. I beg my Compliments to Lady Elizabeth [Compton].

I am Dr Madam

most affectionately yr's

C. TOWNSHEND.

1759, Sept. 15th. Lord Townshend to the Rev. Robert Leeke ? Unaddressed.

" Sir—I received the favour of yours by our last Post which informs me of Ly Ferrer's kind enquiry, through you, after my health under the great affliction which I now labor under from the severe calamity lately befallen me; and I beg that you will be pleased, when you write to her Ladyship, to return my best thanks to her Ladyship, and to assure her Ladyship that my best wishes do always attend her and all belonging to her, and that you will believe me to be, Sir, *etc.*

1759, Sept. 16th. Brigadier-General Monckton to General Townshend. Dated " Camp at Point Levi," and unaddressed.

" Dear Townshend,

I have look'd over such of the Genls Papers as related to the Publick—and can find none that can be of any Service to you—there is, his Commission, the Private Instructions you saw, Copys of Contracts with Mr Baker, and some Reports of Stores &c, As to the Plan of Quebec, it is not amongst his Papers.—But I am told that Mr Keller has a Copy.

I should be glad to hear how you go on—Am sorry to hear that you are out of Order.

I am Most Sincerely yours

ROBT MONCKTON.

P. S. I shall write to Genl Amherst [and I] should therefore be glad to know our Kill'd & Wounded & what it is supposed the Enemy lost &c."

1759, Sept. 17th. Lady Townshend to Lady Ferrers.

" My dear Lady Ferrers,

No situation of my mind or health can ever prevent me from thinking and being anxious for you and your Dear Children. Charles writes by this post to you. I trust in the Almighty God that he will soon bless us with the safe return of our most Dear George.

Your ever Affect.

E. TOWNSHEND.

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by writing news to you, for to us frivolous things are painful, and, by attempting it, I should only torture myself without relieving you. Lady Townshend desires you will consider her as writing by this letter, and I add, for your consolation, that she is rather better than she has been. My best Compliments attend upon Lady Eliz. Compton."

1759, Sept, 19th. The same to the same. Dated at the Privy Garden.

" My dear Lady Ferrers,

As you may possibly read in the Prints that two Ships are arrived in the River from New York, and might be alarmed for that reason if you did not hear from us, I beg leave to assure you that both the American Ships sailed from New York many days after [before ?] the last Packet Boat came away. Nothing new therefore is come by these Ships.

Upon reasoning with some persons of rank & intelligence in the administration upon the accounts we have, I find it is the general opinion that Quebec will fall without any action, as it is now so invested, no provisions can be carried into it, and the army of the enemy, with the Citadel, will, it is believed, be forced to capitulate or starve. This, I am sure, is a prospect you will be pleased with, and I hope you will every day have fresh reasons to rely upon the speedy and safe return of my Brother.

Lady Townshend desires her love : We beg our compliments to Lady Elizabeth Compton.

I am your most affectionate

CH. TOWNSHEND."

Same date. The Countess of Cornwallis to the same. Dated at Brome.

" My dear Lady Ferrers,

As your Letter was directed to Culford I have but this moment received yr comfortable account of the state of things at Quebec.... I was very sorry for poor Roger, and did apprehend your spirits wou'd at this time be ill suited to receive such a shock.... Roger was very amiable & likely to make a figure in his profession, I am glad to hear

the Children are well. My Id, and Molly, desire to joyn with me in assuring you of our best wishes.... Believe me

My Dear Ldy Ferrers
Affectionately yrs
E. C.

1759, Sept. 20th. General Townshend to the same. Dated at the "Camp before Quebec," and unaddressed.

"My Dearest Life my Dearest Charlotte—

We have gained a great Day, the particulars you will read in the publick Gazette. Tho I was not in the warmest part of the action; yet I had more shotts near me than in any other action I've seen. It has pleased God to preserve me for my Charlotte & my George & the rest, and to restore me to you whom alone I have found good & gratefull to me. I have never forgot you in any part of the Campaign. The command of an Army is as disagreeable as any other. Men are as mean here as in any other profession.

I fear I have not time to write to any other friend. My love to them all.

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

[P.S.] My love to Lady Townshend & Charles & to Mr Vyner & Betty. Desire Mr Vyner to look out for two or three Hunters for me.

Do not think my Dear Life that any Command tempts me to stay. The Troops will soon go into Garrison & then I can sett out with the Admiral.

I'm sure my Dear Little ones are well."

1759, Sept. 22nd. Rev. Robert Leeke to the same.

"My very Good Lady

.... We are all here under great Concern for poor Roger Townshend. Every Body laments him extremely, as a well dispos'd young Gentleman, a good Soldier, & I really believe a mighty honest, openhearted Gentleman. Such is the Cruelty of War that it destroys Numbers of our fine youth, I trust in God, that all will go well with our great dear friend

before Quebec. I begin to presage it will do so, & I begin to think it long to hear the Event of the Siege, it surely must be over by this time.

As I mentioned in my Last, I was vastly pleas'd with Lady Betty's new hour. I do not know any one more deserving of it, & I hope e're long to wish her Joy again of a more Substantial Blessing, I mean a good husband, I think she deserves all that this world can do for her. Now I am congratulating give me Leave, My Lady, to congratulate yr Noble family on my Lds Marriage into one of the Beaufort family—I think my Ld hath chosen the very best family in England to be ally'd to & from such an happy Union of the Northampton with the Beaufort family, I foresee every thing will come that is great & good. There is so much dignity, & worth in each family, that every hour, & every dignity of this life will unite in this happy Pair, & I dare say the Blessing of God will go along with the whole "....

1759, Sept. 29th. Lady Townshend to the same.

" Dear Lady Ferrers,

I can say nothing at present in the least favourable in respect to my health therefore will avoid dwelling upon so uncomfortable a subject.

Mr Charles Townshend set out on thursday Night for Adderbury ; he entreated Lady D[alkeit]h to be in town herself or to consent to his staying here with me to wait for Mr Townshend's Arrival ; but she would not hear of his proposal persisting still that she should not be in London for an hour or at Sudbrook nor should he remain here from Adderbury even till fryday Morning, by this fatality for I can call it by no other name I am now deprived of the Comfort and support of his Assistance and Company who never left me till twelve o'clock at night.

The North East Wind continues and is directly contrary for having any News from Quebec when it changes I some times think of seting out for Portsmouth ; here I shall not remain.

My best wishes and Compliments attend Lady Elizabeth Compton. My affectionate Love to the children.

E. TOWNSHEND."

1759, Sept.—Charles Townshend to the same. Dated at the Privy Garden," "Thursday."

" Dear Lady Ferrers,

I am desired by Lady Dalkeith to inform your Ladyship that she never received any letter from you by Mr Sykes, and she is very much concerned to think there can, from any cause, have been the least appearance of neglect in her. She has made a very particular enquiry, & is assured neither of our Servants ever received the letter from Mr Sykes.

I have the satisfaction to assure your Ladyship that a ship has arrived here from Boston with an account from Quebec, dated as far as the 13th of July; from which we learn that the navigation of the River was found very good; that Mr Wolf[e] had taken a safe Camp on the South Side of the river St Laurent; that the landing had been made without loss, that the Town was open to our artillery & our Camp covered from the enemy's; that the French force[s] were behind the Town of Quebec, that Mr Wolf[e] could wait without annoyance for Mr Amherst; that the French force is very small, & that the Seige may possibly be carried without any action, certainly without any great resistance. This account is believed in by the Ministry, and I earnestly hope soon to prove the truth of it by congratulating you upon the safe return of my Brother Townshend. If you are inclined to be alarmed by the delay recollect that such delay can only be the effect of caution in the steps of the Seige; which caution is our common security for the success of it, &, (for which I am more solicitous) a farther argument of my Brother's safety.

Forgive me if I omit the pain of speaking of our late misfortune: my heart sinks under the blow, and nor time nor any thing can efface the impression.

Lady Townshend has wrote herself: and Lady Dalkeith has gone to Adderbury.

You will always hear whatever I have to tell that can relieve your miserable, affectionate situation.

I am very affectionately
yr's

C. TOWNSHEND,"

1759, Oct. 2nd. Lady Townshend to the same. Dated in London.

" Dear Lady Ferrers,

Nothing but the Apprehension that the seeing me would agitate your spirits too much and consequently be prejudicial to your health, could prevent me from coming to Tunbridge.

Every body agrees that the first time the Wind changes from the North East we must hear from Mr Townshend but as yet it is full East.

The poor Norfolk Militia by being pent up so long in the Barracks at Portsmouth are all a dying of the bloody Flux.

Sr Armand Woodhouse is come to town to see Lord Barrington to endeavour to get them relieved, but Mr Pitt's being out of town makes it impossible for their having any immediate redress by being removed from that duty.

My health is so affected for the last three days that I can with difficulty write this...

E. TOWNSHEND."

1759, Oct. 5th. Brigadier General Murray to General Townshend. Unaddressed.

" Sir,

I this moment had the hour of yours. The shaving Trunk I think myself obliged to you for, and enclose an order for the reestablishment of it. I doubt not of its being presented a few weeks after your arrival in England. As I am sure you are desirous to serve your country it certainly will avail itself of your inclinations and nobody can wish you greater success in every thing you undertake than I do. I remember we did joke about the chairs. I am of your opinion that they are too heavy for the field. I thank you however for the offer. I send the Map you mention & wish I had any thing more worth your acceptance. I have a few embroider'd birch curiosities which lady Ferrers would like perhaps, and you may not have met with any like them. You will oblige me if you will accept of them. As I am to stay here you know I can easily get others for my female friends in England.

I shall look for the letter you mention, take a copy of it, and deposite

the original with you. Since so black a lye was propogated I think myself very happy that you will be on the spot to contradict whatever Ignorance, or Faction may suggest.

I have no copy of the paper I sent by you to Genl Wolfe concerning his Scheme of landing between Point au Tremble and St Augustin, but the publick orders are a sufficient proof of his intention to do it, and likewise of the suddenness of the thought of landing when we did. Indeed his orders throughout the campaign shows little stability, stratagem, or fixt resolution ; I wish his friends had not been so much our Enemys, his Memory would probably have been dearer to his Country than now it can be. We are acting on the defensive, you have the Execution of the plan, and I am well perswaded you will manage it with as much tenderness to the memory of the poor Genl as the nature of things will admit of.

I find I am not to have the honor of a visit from you so I must take the opportunity of wishing you a good Voyage, & a happy meeting with your friends. I am—Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

JA. MURRAY."

1759, Oct. 6th. Rev. Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers.

" My very hond Lady

...Give me Leave to observe to yr Lordship, that I a little fear, least yr Ladyships Spirits should Sink a little, because Good News is long a Coming from Quebec. My Lady, as yr Ladyship believes, that Providence will Conclude this Great affair & all others for the best upon the whole, under Such a thought of an Entire Confidence in God, there is no room for any discomposure—besides as there is no bad news hitherto, yr Ladyship may be sure, that had any Evil happen'd to the General, his friends abt him would have sent a Message—No News therefore is good News—& I must own for myself some time ago my heart was very sad, whenever I thought of him but of late it hath been much otherwise, & therefore my Mind inwardly presages that all is well. That yr Ladysp may be ever Easy & well & meet the General soon in Great

Safety is the most fervt prayer & most Cordial wish of yr Ladyships most Obedt & most humble Servt

RT LEEKE."

1759, Oct. 14th. Lord Townshend to the same. Dated at Rabley.

Ld Townshends Complements to Ly Ferrers and is extremely obliged to her for the account she has been so kind as to send him of Mr Townshends perfect Health, and is glad to hear that her Ladyship and the Children are all well.

1759, Oct. 23rd. Brigadier Murray to General Townshend. Dated at Quebec and unaddressed. Endorsed "General Murray."

" Sir!—Captain Frazer writes to his correspondent here that you have been pleas'd to speak well of me to some of the great people at home. This is very obliging and deserves my thanks. I never doubted of your doing Justice to all men, & I shall be glad of an opportunity to convince you how truly I am—Sir—Your most obedient & most humbls Servant,

JA. MURRAY."

1759, Oct. 30th. Revd. Robert Leeke to Lady Ferrers. Dated at Great Snoring.

" My Good Lady

As I had the honour to receive from yr Ladyship the pleasing Account first of Mr Townshends safety & immediately after, the honour he had got at Quebec. To both wch I returned my most hearty Congratulations as I do now again & again with the highest Joy I think my Soul ever tasted.

Give me leave now to rehearse with pleasure before yr. Ladysp the many dangers I observe Genl. Townshend hath escaped during the Campaign.

If we begin with the long Voyage of nine Weeks passage on the Sea, all wch time, twas a great mercy he Enjoy'd his health, as he never had been Us'd to the Sea much before. When the fleet went up the river St. Lawrence there was 3 weeks passage againe—the passage was attended with Infinite danger, to our people at least, who knew little of it. On

the way up they met with Six fire Ships Sent down to meet them, with design to have burnt our fleet, wch. they narrowly Escaped, & must have destroy'd them, had the fire Ships met them in a Narrow part of the Channell.

The day after they Landed at St. Orleans, a Violent Storm arose, wch dashed many of the Transports to pieces which had it been only one day Sooner, must have destroy'd the whole fleet & perhaps Every Soul perisht.

After they Landed Mr. Wolfe says in his Letter They made two Attacks upon the Enemy & was Each time repulsed wth. Great loss, & he says further, had be not in one of those Attacks Call'd back the troops imediately, Brigadier Townshends Corps had been Expos'd to Great hazard—a Great escape here, & I think in this instance & some others I see in Genl. Wolfe a great tenderness for Mr. Townshend.

On the Great Attack when the Victory was got, we had 5 thousand Men only, the Enemy ten, our Army marcht up against a most terrible fire, & held their own till they advanc't within 40 or 50 yards of the Enemy, Wolfe on the right, Moncton in the Center, & Townshend on the left, here in these moments, was the utmost danger, Wolfe shot in 3 different places of his body, Moncton quite thro his, & Townshend Escapes. If ever I saw a visible protection of Providence over any one on Earth, I see it now over Genl. Townshend. God's goodness to him deserves our Utmost wonder, love & thanks.

If there is any one in the world that did not wish Genl. Townshend well in this Expedition, Let them look on him *Now* with Confusion of face, when they see him *live*, when many brave men fell abt. him, when they see him not only *live* but *live* to finish a Victory, wch. brave Genl. Wolfe began—when they *live* to see him at the head of his Victorious troops Enter the Enemys Great Capital, & see him send word to his Majesty under his own hand, that the Victory was thus Concluded by his own Policy & under his own direction. He hath overcome hitherto, winds & storms, a bad Climate all sorts of dangers both by Sea & Land, indeed Every thing, that can make an Expedition terrible, himself untoucht, not a finger aking amidst[t] the wounds, death & destruction of many brave men of our own, and many more Experient Soldiers & marks men of the Enemy.

Let us thank God for this Inexpressible Mercy, & beseech him to preserve him safe from dangerous Storms in his way home. I am a little afraid the Military Glory he hath got this Expedition should encrease his taste for it, & make him fond of the Wars, wch. I don't like, for I think still, as I always did, he can serve his Country better at home, but I hope a good peace will be the Consequence of taking Quebec & then there will be an End of all our Wars for the present.

Let me Now observe to yr Ladysp what I see at home Since the great News Came: a prodigious Joy in all the Villages Nigh me striving who shall out do Each other; in Market Towns they illuminate &c. Tho it is observed some choose to be in darkness, whilst others set up their lights, but higher up in the Country, I do not hear that they have Exerted themselves like what is done abt Fakenham & Walsingham & the villages adjacent.

Tho Great things have been successively done by our Arms all Summer yet Prince Ferdinand's Victory & that at Quebec is the Greatest of all, but Quebec is of the Utmost Importance to the Kingdom & will be of all others most Conducive to an Early & solid peace. The surviving Generals therefore that Commanded at Quebec will ever be seen by the King & Kingdom in the highest pitch of Glory & Esteem.

I hope yr Ladysp amidst all this Joy is very well.... "

[1759, Oct.] Lord Townshend to the same. Dated at Rabley,—
"Wednesday noon."

"Lord Townshend rejoices most heartily upon the happy news Ld Ferrers has been so kind as to send him this morning of the Surrender of Quebec and that Mr Townshend is safe & well; and does most sincerely congratulate her Ladyship upon these happy events, which he hopes will have the further good effect of giving perfect ease and quiet to her Ladyship['s] mind and that her Ladyship['s] health will be restored. He hopes the children are all well."

1759, Dec. 1st. Rev. Robert Leeke to the same.

"Oh Good Lady Ferrers,

I heartily bless God, that I have in my power to wish you Joy of this

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most Glorious Event—an[d] happy Meeting again with Dear General Townshend wch I do most heartily : I do not remember any Event in life past ever fill'd my heart with a More Substantial & Exalted pleasure. No words can Express wt I feel. I feel it as it Conduces Equally to yr Ladysps happiness as well as Mr Townshends.

I need not mention to yr Ladysp that this good Event Sets every Noble prospect in life before you—oh how great is the goodness of God, you see it now & taste it in great abundance. Oh ! Lady Ferrers what a firm Relyance upon Providence will it not do ? What is not the Goodness of God willing to do for those that depend upon him. I shall always think that yr Ladysps Prayers & mine too, have been a great help to Mr Townshend's Security. I shall thank God for this Mercy along with his other blessings to me & beg under this most Joyfull Event, that yr Ladyship will please to Accept My Congratulations along with Mrs Lockes for there will be None that will Send it more affectionately.

R. LEEKE."

1759, Dec. 2nd The Countess of Cornwallis to the same. Dated at Culford.

" My dear Ldy Ferrers

I am infinitely obliged to You for Your early notice of Mr Townshends safe arrival . . . My Ld desires to joyn with me in assuring Mr Townshend, that he has no Friends more truly happy than we are with his safe and glorious return . . . that you will always be as fortunate, and as happy as You are at present is the most sincere wish of

Yr most Affec :

E: C:

[P. S.] My Ld Molly & Harry desire their kind Compts to Mr Townshend & Yr self."

1759, Dec. 4th. Thomas Beevor to General Townshend. Dated at Hethel.

" My Dear Sr

I could not without the greatest injury to my inclination, and ingra-

titude to your friendship, omit paying You my most early respects, on your safe Arrival in this Kingdom : I sincerely congratulate You, on the happy success of an Expedition, which had been by all accounts impracticable, but for the uncommon bravery, and vast superiority of Abilities, in the Commanders of it ; in which capacity (Peace to the Manes of poor Wolfe) I cannot help enjoying the happiness of your fortunes in being left the person to compleat it. As Your fate was the chief circumstance of my first enquiry, when I found it so glorious, I cou'd not but reflect with transport, on the situation, in which You were now placed ; respected, and honour'd by your Countrymen, belov'd by all your friends, and bless'd, doubly bless'd in one of the worthiest, and best of Women ; to whose anxious and frequent prayers You may perhaps be indebted for that very life, which is now so great an Ornament to You : this without the least exaggeration, is now your lot, and 'tis indeed a happy one, your future scene will doubtless be a great one ; but pardon my friendship, when I tell You, that I think You merit the one, and will never fail to grace, and dignify the other ; Macte Virtute, my Dear George, and believe me when I assure You, that no happiness attending You, will ever give a more real or greater pleasure to any one, than to your Sincere & faithful friend

and humble Servt

THOS BEEVOR.

[P. S.] Mrs Beevors & my Compliments to Lady Ferrers."

1759, Dec. 7th. Miles Branthwayt to the same. Dated at Gunthorpe.

" Dear Sir—I beg leave to congratulate you & Lady Ferrers on your safe Arrival in England.....we are all of us very impatient to kiss your hand at Cranmer & to congratulate you upon your great Success in conquering Quebeck.....Mr Gay has not heard from his son since the taking of Quebeck, which gives him & us great uneasiness.....Mrs Branthwayt begs that you will accept & make her best Compts to Lady Ferrers, Lady Compton, & your little family & that you will accept the same from Dear Sir " *etc.*

1759, Dec. 8th. Lord Shaftesbury to the same. Dated at Exeter.

" Lord Shaftesbury presents his most sincere and affectionate Com-

pliments to Mr Townshend, and is extremely thankful to him for the favour of Mr Townshend's inquiring after him in Grosvenor Square. Ld Shaftesbury intended before this to have paid his Compliments by letter, and to have acknowledged the Honour of the Public regard shewn him by Mr Townshend in the excellent address at the Head of Lieut Col: Wyndham's book, but business leaves him at present no time for writing. He can not conclude this Note without informing Brigr Townshend of the perfect Harmony subsisting between the Dorsetshire and Army Corps now doing duty together here I propose returning into Dorset very soon. Lord Shaftesbury's respects wait on Lady Ferrers."

Same date. Earl Poulett to the same. Dated at Hinton.

"I take the liberty of troubling my honoured friend & kinsman, with a letter I received from a friend of mine whom I shd be very glad to serve, & as I am retired in the country (by being a cripple) I dont know where to apply more properly, wch I hope will excuse the trouble of this letter.

I am glad at the same time of an opportunity of congratulating you on a safe return, & with so much Glory & success, in wch every Englishmen takes part, but more particularly those who have the honour of being related to you.

After being a Cripple for more than two years I begin to feel some benefit from a Remedy I have tryed for about 5 weeks past, even at this time of the year, against all the disadvantages of weather.

If I knew who had the managemt of the new Militia bill, & had the heads of it sent me, I might perhaps be able to add something to it, who beg leave to assure my honoured Kinsman that I am wth the highest regard & greatest respect " *etc.*

1759, April 30th, to Sept. 18th. A MS. book in cardboard cover endorsed "Orders of General Wolfe." 84 pp.

The phonetic spelling of this manuscript suggests that the orders were written from dictation by a non-commissioned officer.

1759, June 10th. Dispositions generales pour s'opposer à la descente depuis La Riviere St Charles jusqu'au Sault de Montmorency, de meme

que pour se retirer derriere la rivierre St Charles dans le cas que l'on fut forcé à la descente. Projet pour defendre cette Rivierre et ordre de Bataille pour combattre et pour camper pendant toute La Campagne. 5 pp. foolscap. Subscribed " A Quebec le 10 Juil 1759 " and signed " Le Ch[evali]er de Levis."

This document seems to have fallen into General Townshend's hands on the fall of Quebec.

1759, June 26th to Oct. 10th. General Orders issued to the troops before Quebec between three dates. A stitched MS., in a clerk's hand, without cover or title. 108 pp.

1759, July 28th to Sept. 13th. Rough notes relating to the siege of Quebec between these dates. 5 pp. foolscap.

The account given in these notes of the movements of the British forces on Sept. 13th, when Quebec was captured and Genl Wolfe was killed, is as fallows :—

Sept. 13th. The Troops landed below the place intended owing to the rapidity of the Tide.

Just before we were ordered to land Capt. Smith, a very active & intelligent Officer of the light Troops, informed the Brigadiers that the naval Officer who was to conduct the first detachment down the River assured him that if he proceeded down by the S[outh] side of the River the Current was so strong that they should be carried beyond the place of attack & probably below the Batteries & the Town and thereupon the Brigadiers (there not being time to report & receive Genl Wolfe's directions thereon) authorised him to carry them down the N[orth] side of the River & fortunately it was follow'd, for even there the Boats could only land before daybreak considerably below the place of attack (l'ance Gardien) & Col. Howe (now Sir William) found he was below it, & Major Delauney a very active & enterprising Officer who had a command in the light Corps, saying the place was higher up the River, & the Colonel knowing the Consequence of the Enemy's perceiving at day light our situation & being reinforce'd, he order'd that Officer to attack where proposed & very gallantly himself scrambled up the rocky height in his front by which he turning to his left he attack'd & drove the

Enemy from their position & most happily facilitated the success of the former up a narrow precipice with an abbatis & a battery just over it which was firing on them.

Just at daybreak another most fortunate circumstance contributed to the success of this critical operation, when the first corps for disembarkation was passing down the N[orth] side of the river & the French Centries on the banks challeng'd our boats, Capt. Fraser who had been in the Dutch Service & spoke French, answered—la France & vive le Roy—on which the French Centinels ran along the Shore in the dark crying—laissez les passer ils sont nos gens avec les provisions—which they had expected for some time.

When Brig[adie]rs Monkton & Townshend arrived to support them Brig. Townshend put his men in boats behind the Ships which the Enemy was battering, landed them safe, and followd Genl Monkton's [column] to the Ground where the General was forming his line to oppose the Enemy, who was passing with all expedition under their Comander [in] Chief Monsr de Montcalm the River St Charles.

The Troops marchd forwards with the utmost alacrity to possess the rising Ground & were drawn up in a line of battle opposite the Town. Col. Howe with the light Troops was sent to take possession of a 3 Gun battery at St Michel which executed he drove in all the small parties which were posted on the heights & annoyd our Columns going up the Hill.

In forming the line Brigr Monckton commanded the right, Brigr Murray the Center & Brigr Townshend the left, which when forming with Lascells Regiment only was attacked by the Americans & Indians, which he kept in check behind a long roadway assisted by the gallant behaviour of Capt.—who had quitted a House by mistake which protected the front of the Brigadiers position, but on finding his mistake he dashd back again—attacked them with Bayonets & put all to the Sword within the House. The Brigadier being reinforced by his second Battalion then maintaind his position whilst the Enemy being formed between the Town & our line came down & attacked our front. They were received with the greatest firmness, just before this Genl Wolfe came towards the left & finding all secure on there, he returned to the Center & received a mortal wound in the head & soon after another in

the breast & died before they cd carry him to the Water side. Genl Monckton was wounded in the breast. Our Troops had charged the Enemy close & repulsed them & pursued them part into the Town the rest down the River St Charles. Brigadier Townshend was left with one Battalion, when Monsieur de Bougainville was marching from the Woods in the Rear to attack him. He sent his Aid du Camp to collect the Troops as fast as they could & took a position towards the Enemy behind a Ravin & got up 2 pieces of Cannon, & when they were firing he had the mortification to hear that they had brought wrong ammunition, on which as the Enemy was forming in the Edge of the Woods he orderd the Officer to fire with a considerable degree of Elevation, & maintained his position till reinforced by the return of some of the scatter'd forces, from the pursuit.

1759, Augt. 28th to Sept. 12th. " Copies of Papers that were wrote by General Wolfe and the Brigadiers, before the Operations above the Town of Quebec in 1759." 12 pp.

1759, Sept. 13th. " Return of the Kill'd and Wounded at the Battle of Quebec."

The total is 658 officers and privates killed and wounded, and 3 missing.

The following is the list of the General and Staff Officers killed and wounded :—

Major Genl Wolfe, killed; Brigr Genl Monckton, wounded; Major Barré, Adjut Genl, wounded; Colonel Carleton, Qr Mr Genl, wounded; Capt. Spital, Major of Brigade, wounded; Capt. Smyth, Aid de Camp, wounded; and Lieut. Benzell. Engineer, wounded.

1759, Sept. $\frac{17th.}{18th.}$ Copy of the " Capitulation of Quebec as it was proposed ye 17th 7ber 1759 & also such as was agreed upon ye 18th." In French and English, eleven Articles. Signed by Admiral Saunders, General Townshend and Monsr de Ramsay, Commandant of Quebec.

The chief clauses to the effect that the garrison is to march out with all the honours of war, and that the property and religion of the inhabitants are guaranteed.

1759, Sept. 20th. General Townshend to William Pitt. Dated at the "Camp before Quebeck Sepr ye 20th 1759—Copy of ye letter sent " to ye Secretary of State, Sepr ye 20th 1759.—Endorsed Quebec—Copy of my Relation of the Action to Mr Pitt."

Sir, I have ye honour to acquaint you with ye success of his Majesty's arms on ye 13th instant in an action with ye French in ye heights to ye Westward of this town.

It being determined to carry ye operations above ye town, the post at Point Levy & Isle d'Orleans being secured, General Wolfe marched with ye remainder of his forces from Pointe Levy ye 5th & 6th & embarkt them in transports which had passed ye town for that purpose. In ye 7th 8th & 9th a movement of ye ships was made up ye river in order to amuse ye enemy now posted along ye North Shore. The transports being extremely crowded & ye weather very bad, ye General thought proper to cantoon half his troops upon ye South Shore, where they were refresht & reembarkt upon ye 12th at one in ye morning. The light infantry commanded by Coll Howe, ye Regts of Bragg's, Kennedy's, Lascelles, & Austruther's, wth a detachment of Highlanders & ye Royal American Grenadiers, ye whole being immediately under ye command of Brigadiers Monkton & Murray, were put into ye flat bottom'd Boats & after some movements of ye ships made by Admiral Holmes to draw ye attention of ye enemy up ye river ye boats fell down wth ye tide & landed on ye Shore within a league of Cape Diamond an hour before daybreak. The rapidity of ye tide of ebb hurried ye boats a little below ye intended place of attack, which obliged ye light Infantry to scramble up a woody precipice in order to secure ye landing of ye troops, & to dislodge a Captain's post which defended a small entrenched road where ye troops were to move up. After some firing ye light infantry gained ye top of ye precipice & dispersed ye Captain's post, by which means ye troops wth very little loss from a few Canadians & Indians in ye wood got up & immediately formed. The boats as they emptied were sent back for ye second disembarkation which I immediately made. Brigadier Murray being detached wth Anstruther's battalion to attack a four gun battery on ye left was recalled by ye General who now saw ye French army crossing ye River St Charles. General Wolfe thereupon began to form his line of Battle, having his right covered with ye Louisbourg Grenadiers on an eminence, behind which was Otway's, on ye left of ye Grenadiers

were Bragg's, Lascelles, Kennedy's Highlanders & Anstruther's. The right of this body was commanded by Brigr Monkton & ye left by Brigr Murray : his rear & left were protected by Coll Howe's light infantry who was returned from ye 4 gun Battery which he had found abandoned & ye Cannon spiked up. Webb's was formed as a Reserve in ye Center with large Intervals between their Subdivisions, & Lawrence's soon after detach'd to preserve our Communication with our Boats. General Montcalm having collected ye whole of his force from ye Beauport side & advancing us shewed his intention to flank our left when I was immediately ordered with Amherst's Battalion which I formed *en Potence*. My numbers were soon after encreased by two other Battalions as they arrived. The Enemies lined the Bushes in their front with 1500 Indians & Canadians & I have reason to think most of their best marksmen, which kept up a brisk tho' irregular fire upon our whole line, who bore it wth ye greatest patience & good order, reserving their fire for ye main body now advancing. The right of ye French line was composed of half ye troops de la Colonie, ye Battalions of La Sarre & Languedoc wth some Canadian & Indians ; their center Column was formed by ye Battalions of Bearn & Guienne, & ye left was composed of ye other half of ye troupes de la Colonie wth ye Battalion of Royal Roussillon. Such was as near as I guess their line of Battle. The French brought up two small pieces of Artillery against us & we had been able to bring up but one gun which being extreamly well served galled their Column exceedingly—My attention to ye left will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every circumstance which passed in ye center, much less to ye right. But 'tis most certain that the attack of ye Ennemy was very brisk & animated on that side, our troops nevertheless reserved their fire to within 40 yards which was so well continued, that ye Ennemy everywhere gave way. It was then our General fell at ye head of Bragg's & ye Louisbourg Grenadiers advancing to charge their Bayonets. About ye same time Brigadier General Monkton received his wound at ye head of Lascelles. On their side fell ye French General Monss De Montcalm & his second in command since dead of his wounds on board our fleet. The ennemy in their confusion flung themselves into a thick copse wood in their rear & seemed preparing to make a stand. It was at this time that each Corps seemed in a manner to exert itself wth a view to its own peculiar character. The Grenadiers, Bragg's & Lascelles drove on ye Ennemy with their Bayonets. Brigr Murray briskly advancing upon ye ennemy

the troops under his command compleated ye rout on this side, when ye Highlanders supported by Anstruther's took to their broad swords & drove part into ye town & part over ye river St. Charles. The action on our left & rear of our left was not so severe. The houses into which ye light infantry were thrown were well defended, being supported by Coll Howe who taking Post wth two companies behind a small copse, & frequently sallying upon ye ennemy who attackt them drove them often into heaps. Against ye front of which body I advanced fresh platoons of Amherst's Regt which prevented their right wing from executing their first intention. One of ye Royal American Battalions being detached to a post which secured our rear, & ye other being sent to fill up ye space the battalions advanced wth General Murray had vacated, I remained with Amherst alone to support these posts & keep ye Ennemies right in check. The efforts of ye Ennemy on this side cou'd never break in upon this disposition & ye hopes of a great body of Indians & Canadians who waited impatiently to have fallen on our rear in case of a defeat were entirely frustrated.

This, Sir, was ye situation of things when I was told in ye action that I commanded. I immediately repaired to ye center & finding that ye pursuit had put part of ye troops in great disorder I formed them as soon as possible. Scarce was that effected when Monsr de Boncainville wth about 2000 men, ye corps from Cap rouge & that neighbourhood, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of light artillery & two Battalions towards him but upon two or three shots he retired. You will, I flatter myself, agree Sir that it was not my business to risk ye fruits of so glorious a day & to abandon so commanding a situation to give a fresh ennemy battle upon his own terms & in ye midst of woods & swamps where he was posted. I have been employed from ye day of Action to that of ye Capitulation in redoubting our camp against any insult, making a road up ye precipice for our Cannon, getting up ye artillery, preparing ye Batteries, & cutting off ye communications of ye Garrison wth ye country. The 17th a flag of truce came out wth proposals of Capitulation about noon before we had any Battery erected. I sent ye officer who had come out, back to town allowing them four hours to capitulate or no further treaty. He returned with terms of Capitulation, which with ye Admiral were considered, agreed to, & signed on both sides by 8 o'clock in ye morning ye 18th instant. The terms you find we granted, will I flatter myself be approved of by his Majesty considering

ye Ennemy assembling in our rear, ye inclemency of ye season—which wou'd scarcely admitt of our bringing a gun up ye precipice. The critical situation of our fleet from the Æquinoctial gales calling for our immediate attention, add to this ye entring ye town in a deffensible state against any attack which might otherwise be attempted against it in the winter. This I hope will be deemed sufficient considerations for granting them ye terms I have ye honour to enclose you—I herewith send you a list of ye killed & wounded & ye list of French Prisoners as perfect as I have yet been able to obtain it. I believe their loss that day might amount to 1500 they have at least now 500 wounded in their Hospital General. Another list of ye artillery & stores in ye town, as well as those fallen into our hands at Beauport in consequence of ye Victory. The inhabitants bring in their arms very fast & chearfully take ye oaths of allegiance to his Majesty. By ye last intelligence from deserters Monsr De Levy now commands their army. He is returned some say wth troops from the Montreal side. They are collecting their scattered forces at Cap Rouge, his left extending by different posts as near us as old Loretto 6 miles from our camp. Their regular Battallions are now rednuced to 150 men each & are in great want of provisions. I shou'd be wanting in paying my due respects to ye Admirals & ye Naval Service if I neglected this occasion to acknowledge how much we are indebted for our success to ye constant assistance & support we have received, & to ye perfect harmony & immediate correspondence which has prevailed throughout our operations in ye uncommon difficulties which ye nature of this country in particular presents to military operations of a great extent, & which no army can in itself solely supply. The immense labour in ye transportation of artillery stores & provisions ye long watchings & attendance in boats, ye drawing up our artillery even in ye heat of ye action, it is my duty short as my Command has been to acknowledge for that time how great a share ye Navy has had in this successful campaign.

I have ye honour &c. &c. &c.

GEO. TOWNSHEND."

1759, Sept. 25th. Copy of a proposal [Signed by General Townshend and unaddressed] for a military demonstration with 660 or 800 men on the South Shore [of the River St Lawrence]. Dated 25th September, but endorsed "General Townshend's Proposal — Quebec — Septr 23d 1759."

Same date. General Townshend to——. Dated at the "Camp befor Quebec" and unaddressed. Copy.

"Dear Sir—The method of sending this will I hope sufficiently excuse ye shortness of the Relation. It being determined to carry [on] the Operations above the Town, the corps at Montmorenci pass'd over to Point Levi. The posts of Isle Orleans & of Pt Levi being secured, ye General embark'd ye Troops in Transports on ye 5th & 6th : after some movements up ye River to amuse ye Enemy, we landed on ye 13th [and] surprised a French post on ye N[orth] Shore, within 3 miles of ye Town. Our Troops to about 3500 met Monr de Montcalm's Army from ye Beaufort side upon ye Heights before ye Town. He began the attack, and was repulsed twice. The firmness with which our Troops bore ye Tirallerie of all their Indians Canadians &c. for a considerable time, preserving their Fire for their Regulars ; & the home attack which they made upon the latter with their Bayonets, when they came down to ye Charge, decided ye Day. The Highlanders seconded by Austruthers pursued them to ye Gates of ye Town with their Broad Swords. We had but 2 Peices of Cannon up & but one played for a considerable time. We took 5 besides a great quantity of Artillery & Stores which fell into our Hands, on ye Beaufort side—as well as in ye Town which surrender'd, before we had a Battery ready, on the 18th Instant in ye morning. We lost poor General Wolfe who fell in the warmest part of ye Engagement. Genl Monckton was wounded near the same place & about ye same time. Monr de Montcalm & ye second in Command were also killd. Their Regulars sufferd extreamly—We have a great many of their Officers prisoners. We compute our loss at about 500 killd & wounded ; theirs about 2000. The remains of their Army is assembling, & cantoon'd about St Augustine. Monr de Levi commands. Monr de Boucainville had a separate Corps of 1500 men who came upon our Rear just after ye Action was over, attacked one of our Posts & sufferd a good Deal. I write this to you by order of Genl Monckton, who tho' wounded in the Breast, is in so fine a way as to be able to do all business but write—I have ye Honour to be with the most gratefull respect—Dear Sir—Your most faithfull & affecte

GRO. TOWNSHEND."

[Quebec].

1759, Sept. 26th. General Townshend to General Amherst. Dated at the "Camp before Quebec." A draft "sent ye 27th."

"Dear Sir—Having General Monckton's Commands to write you a Relation of ye Action of ye 13th, which decided the Fate of this Town & I hope will contribute not a little to ye total reduction of Canada ; I have ye Honour to send you a Copy (I believe pretty exact) of my account of that Victory to ye Secretary of State. Were I really to attempt to point out the most striking cause of this successfull stroke I must attribute it to the admirable & determined firmness of every Brittish Soldier in ye field that Day ; conducted by ye manifest ability of the officers at this respective Posts. Victory or no Quarter was I may affirm in every Man's Face that Day ; the Ground we scrambled up in ye morning, the motions of ye Enemy to surround us, the Time of Tide & ye Heights which command ye Boats taught us this lesson, and thank God the whole army made a proper application.

Genl Monckton, who is so well recovered as to command us, will I conclude write to you upon ye Intelligence he has of ye Situation of the remains of ye French Army & how far Things may admit or not of any further movement on our Side. This is not my province. He proposes to leave Genl Murray Commander at Quebec. I cannot consequently whenever ye Army becomes a Garrison be of any use here, & may embrace ye leave to return to England you so long ago bestowed upon me. I am sorry ye advancement of ye Season will not allow me to pay my respects to you in America, but shall only say that I shall be one of ye very many who shall think himself happy to serve under yr command. We heard this Day by a Deserter, you had taken Montreal. I hope t'is true. Voila donc Monr de Levy investié.

I hear I have got Barrington's Regiment. Alas what a Bouquet this had been a Year or two hence for poor Roger. I assure you I return thoroughly wounded from America. I loved him sincerely.

My respects to all who do me ye Honour to remember me & forgive me Dear Sir for not sending you ye relation of ye Action in my own Handwriting. I had made a thousand Blots. I hope to pay you my respects upon more momentous occasions.

I am with ye most Sincere respect—Yr most faithfull & obed Servt

GEO. TOWNSEND.

[P. S.]. There were two field Peices & not only one up in the
Action."

TOWNSHEND PAPERS

THE letters and papers here printed relating to the Siege of Quebec belong to the collection of the Marquess Townshend at Raynham. They do not appear to have been seen by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, as they are not included in the Calendar published by the Commission. The originals are now in Hownslow Barracks where the present copies were made by permission of Colonel Townshend. A life of the first Marquess has been published recently by Colonel Townshend who has probably consulted these documents in the preparation of his work.

An effort was made to obtain copies of the "General Orders" from June 26 to Oct 10, 1759, mentioned in the Calendar, but Colonel Townshend stated that they were missing as he had made a particular search for them himself at Raynham.

The documents now published in extenso for the first time are of great historical value.



JOURNAL
OF THE
VOYAGE TO AMERICA AND CAMPAIGN AGAINST QUEBEC
1759

*From a note-book or rough diary apparently in Townshend's
own handwriting.*

Having had the Honour to be appointed to serve in America as Brigadier General and in that corps of Troops destined against Quebec under the Command of Mr. Wolfe, who had a Commission of Major General in America for that purpose.

I embark'd on board ye Neptune the Admirals Ship on the 13th of Feby on board of which also was the General and Coll. Carlton our Quarter Master General.

On the 16th Feby. 1759. We sail'd from Spithead. The following is a List of the Fleet under ye Command of Admiral Saunders who the Day before received his Commission as Vice Admiral of ye. Blue & hoisted his Blue Flag at ye. Foretopmast Head of ye. Neptune accordingly.

<i>Rate</i>	<i>Ships</i>	<i>Comanders</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Men</i>
4	Intrepid	Capt. Ratten	60	420
3	Warspight	Bentley	74	600
3	Stirling Castle	Everit	64	480

AP. II—15

& Shrewsbury giving Chace to. She proved to ye. surprise of all to be ye. Dublin. 2 of ye. missing Convoy joined us ye. same Evening.

On 31st. we saw a Sail which proved to be a Carolina Man.

On the 9th of April...

The Admiral dispatchd the Alcide Capt. Douglas for Louisbourg. On the 10th. the Gale springing up South West He soon got out of Sight. Bearings Cape Breton.

N: \times E: D: 206 Leagues Latitude 35.53 N.
Longitude 41.32 W.

On the 16th at 8 in ye morning we saw a Sail which proved to be ye Cormorant. Capt. Moyatt dispatch'd by ye Admiral for Hallifax on ye 20th of last month, as before mentiond. She had not been in Hallifax, & had made ye Island of Sable on Sunday ye 15th. at 4 in ye afternoon, bearing E. N. E. 3 quarters E. Distance 4 Leagues—by this ship & comparing our account we found the Fleet to be E. N. E. of ye Island of Sable 21 Leagues, consequently that we were upon ye Easternmost Point of ye Banc Sincembre, or in English Bank Samborough. Our Soundings were at 8 this morning 46 Fathom. We caught thereon Cod.

The Admiral this Day Dispatched The Cormorant again for Hallifax with the greater part of ye Transport under our Convoy.

18th April. Several Transports not having seen ye Signal to attend ye Cormorant & remaining with ye Fleet, ye Admiral sent them for Hallifax & steerd East, in order to go without ye Isle of Sable.

The 21st (Saturday) our Course W. N. W. We imagined we made Land upon ye N. E. quarter but it proved on our approach to be one of those floating Islands of Ice so frequent in these Seas at this Season: a little while after we saw another of these Islands on ye S. W. quarter & at ye same time very Hasy Weather with a Snow coming on, and being by our Reckoning not above 10 or 12 Leagues from Cape Breton which we expected to make every minute. (nay some thought—made Land) at ye Time this Thick Weather came on about 10 o'clock the Admiral Alterd his Course from W. N. W. to South \times East.

At which time we despatchd a Cutter which had attended us all ye

Voyage, comanded by Capt. Douglass—to endeavour to make ye Land & get if possible into ye Harbour of Louisbourg. The remainder of this Day was very foggy & a great deal of Snow & at night a Hard Gale & such Excessive Cold that the men were incapable of furling the Fore topsail, so hard was it froze.

On Sunday ye 22d. about eight the Cutter return'd, having been unable to make land by the Danger He was exposed to from the Islands of Ice heing surrounded by no less than 5 of them.

Upon this the Fleet Steerd W. N. W. Course The Sterling Castle being sent a Head to make ye Land.

About 11 this forenoon we fell in again with Ice supposed to be ye same we saw before—& upon our other quarter we likewise saw more, the appearance of ye first was greatly altered however being lower & more seperated & various Breeches therein—& Sea very visible beyond it: but that upon our Starboard quarter was rather more extensive & Compact.

The Sterling Castle made a Signal for seeing this Ice a Head was call'd in & joined the Fleet about 2 forenoon. The Weather was all this morning extreamly fine & very smooth Water. Wind at W. by North. The Admiral back'd at 2 & Stood to the South West. The Cutter was again sent forwards. The Weather was remarkably fine this Evening at W: by North.

We stood N. W. all, this night & Monday The 23rd in ye morning about 10 we saw 2 Sail upon ye. N. W. quarter—vid. a Stranger which we at first suspected to be ye Alcide dispatch'd for Louisbourg on ye—ye. other was ye. Cutter:—The Admiral made signal for ye. Shrewsbury to chase the former—another Sail, was seen just afterwards upon ye. S. E. quarter which ye. Medway was orderd to chase. About one o'clock we fell in again with a Great Body of Ice, extending from N. by E. to N. N. E—The Skirts of which appeared to us like that described before but rather more broke & beyond a considerable part of it The Sea was again very discernable—& A clear Seperation like a Passage was very apparent to one who was on ye. Mast Head (how large I did not hear him say) but that a great part of this Ice was loose and incompact is most certain, as I perceived innumerable Bodies floating at some distance from each other floating somewhat in a Conic form & beyond ye. whole an

appearance of Land. Just at this time ye. Sterling Castle a Head made a Signal for ye. Ice & for ye. Land. Before two the Land was discern'd from ye. Mast Head & soon after very clear from ye. Poop. At 4 we tack'd & Stood S. East ; Before 5 ye. Sterling Castle came under our Stern & informd ye. Admiral that He took ye. Land he made to be the Island of Scatery. One of our French Pilots on board took it to be L'Isle de St. Esprit—soon after Capt. Spry in ye. Orford who had stood in very near ye. Ice fell under our Stern & acquainted ye. Admiral that He thought also it was ye. Island of Scatery ; & that as to ye. Ice, it was such as He beleived He could run thro', upon which ye. Adml. told him He should lead us thro' ye. next Morning, At night we stood and coasted ye. whole morning of 24th. being Tuesday along the Island of Cape Breton The Stirling Castle leading & ye. Orford lying as near ye. Ice as possible. We had now ye. mortification of seeing that it Girt ye. whole Coast from Scatery the Easternmost Point to Isle Madame ye. Westernmost, Consequently it formed a Bar directly across the Harbour of Louisbourg ; almost opposite to which (as near as we could judge) we perceived a ship fixd in ye. Ice & behind ye. Westernmost Point of ye. same which was as far as ye. Island extended we could also perceive a Brigantine much distress'd. We were this morning joind by several N. England sloops laden with Provisions which could not get into Port. One of which being spoke with by ye. Medway declared He had come out of Louisbourg Harbour about 11 Days before. The Orford which I mentiond before was appointed to lead thro' The Ice if possible, and who had stood ye. whole way along it—having about 12 tack'd instead of attempting to turn ye. Westernmost, Point of it beyond which we saw ye. Brig much Distress'd & also Land & Ice upon our Starboard : The Wind freshning at South East : The Admiral made a Signal to back & stood E. S. E. I must here observe that from ye. accounts of all those on board our Fleet who had been accusomd to this climate & these coasts, as well as from ye. Discourse of ye. N: Englanders—this quantity of Ice which thus prevented our getting into our Port, was unusually Great & strong at this time of ye. year & adjudged to have been drove together upon that shore by the S. East winds which prevented its dispersing into the Sea upon its discharge from ye. mouth of ye. Gulph—between ye. Northermost Point of C : Britton & Cape Race. In this situation embayed in a manner as the Fleet was by Land & Ice, It would have been extreemly hazardous to have remained in this situation with the Fleet a moment longer and

I may venture to affirm that every one that was convinced of ye. Impossibility of getting thro' that Extensive Solid Peice of Ice extending at least from East to West, and in depth even to the Land lidge was very Glad to gain a good offing as soon as possible, and ought to have been thankfull for ye. wild Weather which enabled us to compass it, by Capt. Spry's report this Evening: who was now, thoroughly convinced of ye. Impossibility of getting thro' this Ice—Its diameter under water was not less than enough certainly in tempestuous weather to have beat any ship in ye. world in peices We stood S. W. all night on ye. 24th. & on Wednesday ye. 26th. continued ye. same Course in an Extreame thick Fog, towards Evening quite calm, in ye. Evening The Fog cleard up & most of our Fleet & Convoy were in view. A Gale N: sprang up & we steer'd: All night & this morning of ye. 26th. it froze hard we continued standing a long shore which appear'd at ye. distance of about

It now appeared that the Admiral intended to make another attempt to get into Louisbourgh, nor can I help in this place, however ignorant in maritime affairs to observe a little upon the conduct of our fleet from ye 16th time we fell in with ye Cormorant.

[The Cutter came down this morning upon our Starboard Bow but no report was made by him, nor signal for him.] *This paragraph is written on the margin of the manuscript.*

One of the principal objects of ye Government appears from their early departure of this Fleet, to have been ye Possession on our part of all possible access on ye part of ye French, to the relief of Canada, in order to which we had taken every measure both with respect to the Equipment & departure of our own Fleet, so early from Gt Brittain as well the leaving a proper Force under Mr Durel at Hallifax, with orders to be as early as ye Season would permit in ye River St Lawrence; & particularly at a Station that would Effectually block all means of Succours by that River. The Importance of this measure seem'd if possible to be enforced by ye Advices (news) We received at Lea by different Vessels; that the Expedition in ye W. Indies had not totally succeeded at Guardeloupe, that ye Troops were sickly there—so that we had little hopes to expect that Reinforcement with which we were flatterd when in England—as an Augmentation of Force that would have made the Troops destin'd for Canada, equal to what the Projectors of ye Plan had

given out. Thursday ye 26th Sailing backwards & forwards along ye Coast Capt Spry & Everit sent again in ye Evening to view ye Ice & we stood towards the Isle of Sable.

This night the Wind changing we stood for Hallifax — Rough weather—a smart gale & much Snow & Frost on Friday ye 27th continued same course about 12—The Orford & Sterling Castle appear'd in View, Calm all this Day & ye same night & on the 28th Saturday ye, Calm continued until 12—& then little Wind however ye Intention to stand as soon as possible for Louisbourg—the Cutter supposed to be got in Allmost calm this night—in ye morning what Wind there was at E. N. E. Cape Canso about 5 Leagues from us at 12 o'clock. We then about that time saw 2 Schooners, which were supposed to come out of Louisbourg, but upon bringing them to, the[y] proved to be a—— with a Capt. of Rangers & Recruits & ye other with Provisions bound in to Louisbourg & drove back by ye Ice, by their account ye Ice was driving along Shoar to ye Westward was very Extensive & they proposed to get into some little Harbour that night.

Upon this the Admiral made a signal to call in ye 2 Frigates sent a head to observe ye Ice.—The Wind being fair for Hallifax The Fleet made all sail for that place Monday ye 30th April—The wind continued good all night & we went about 6 Knots an Hour

30 April. Got into Hallifax.

31st. Gen. Wolfe put Col. Carlton on board with 600 men.

May 2d. Mr. Durel weigh'd anchor & remaind at ye Harbour until April ye 5th.

In ye forenoon Mr. Durels fleet saild & got soon out of Sight.

Capt. Johnson of ye Rangers whom we met at Sea & ye Admiral Gave *powder* to send in an Indian by Capt. Smith of ye.... Fireship. this Indian belongd to a Tribe of MicMack's then Hunting in Cape Britton—He said that ye French Priest had Received advice from Quebec that place wou'd be attackd by ye *wood & water* & that ye Abbé Malliard ye Priest was to conduct all ye Indians of those parts very soon to Quebec—

Halifax ye 10th.

Went out on a Post in ye Woods with ye Rangers.

Halifax, *April* (?) ye 12.

The Admiral by laying under his Topsails.

May 13th. Sailed from Hallifax

May 15th. arrived at Louisbourgh

Regts. in Garrison there were

22d. Regt. Whitmores

28th. Braggs

40th. Hopson's

45th. Warburtons

State of these Regiments

State of ye. Town & fortifications

Cannon lying neglected in ye. Streets

Frazer's arrived ye. 17th. from N. York.

Kennedy's the 18th. from the Bay of Fundy.

Webbs' arrived ye. 18th. from Boston with ye. Ordnance Store Ships

Lascelles arrived ye. 22d. from N. York.

Genl. Monkton with Amhersts Anstruther's & 2 Battalion Royal American's arrived ye. 1st. of June The Trent with these Regiments were kept out above a week off ye. mouth of ye. Harbour in a Fog usual in this Climate.

Not above 3 clear Days from ye. 15th. of May to ye. 14th. June & Great quantities of Ice floating off ye. Harbour & sometimes ye. Harbour so full of it, that not a Boat could come on shore & of a Thickness that men could walk upon the floating Peices. Scarce any appearance of Vegetation—the Day we left it. Fine Fishery ye. Garrison

living on Salt Provisions & not one Vessel employed for Fish—at ye same time all provisions excessive scarce & dear.

The 4th in ye morning ye greatest part of our Fleet Saild.

List of ye Fleet.

Lay off ye Harbour that night & ye next day in a Thicke Fog when ye whole got out the 6th made Sail along Coast with a fair wind.

The 7th were off Newfoundland with little wind.

The 8th made Isle St. Paul W. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. and got into the Gulph. The 9th the Wind fresh at N. E. The 10th & 11th made the Bird Island Isle Bonaventure & ye mouth of Gaspey & and at night ye wind came about to N W by N: and blew pretty hard, & ye Currents being very strong here drove us over to ye Coast of Anticosti. The Headlands of Gaspey & Cape Rosier are about 20 Leagues. The other Channel to ye Northward of Anticosti to ye Labrador Shore is about 7 Leagues. The extent of ye Island is computed to be 50 Leagues from South West to North East.—I have not yet been able to meet with any person French or English that knew or ever heard of any port or Haven in this very large Island or of any Inhabitants thereon. If the former could be found, it would be an excellent Situation for an establishment or fortified Harbour to Curb Canada, but it is annoying that this Island has not been thoroughly reconnoitred by both. The 12th in the Evening it fell quite Calm.

On ye 13th at 4 o'clock in ye morning, it sprung up a fair Wind at S. E., at 11 when we were opposite Cape Rosier the Admiral made a signal for Capt *Linsey* of ye Trent to come on board & afterwards to go on [a] Head with his Division by which we lost a great deal of time & also our Wind soon afterwards faild, at 12 o'clock West End of Anticosti bore N. by E. half E. 8 or 9 Leagues. La pointe Grand Etang W & by N: 7 or 8 Leagues the Wind about one was at South West.

14. Wind Contrary, last night & by N. W. so that we could only stand over for ye Labrador Coast, stretching to ye Norward. The Currents very strong here so we made little way at 6 ye. Wind came fair S by E.

In ye. morning of ye. 15th it fell Calm when we were nearly opposite

to Marsoins & St. Ann's it sprung up at East, fell calm again in the Evening & freshnen'd at night, when being chiefly contrary we Stood N : & by West.

On ye. 16th in the Morning we were nearest ye. North Coast : The Wind was at W. South West a thick Fog came on.

I must here observe that we might have come to good Anchorage. The Evening before vidt. on ye. 15th as there is good Anchorage upon ye. Southern Coast in most places from the Port Matane quite to the Isle au Bic, which was about 13 or 14 Leagues from us. but the Admiral had sent his Pilot one de Vitri (who was most accustomed to & best knew ye. Southern Coast) with Mr. Durell & had kept one *Raby*, whose principal knowledge was ye. Channel to ye. N : East of Anticosti, & ye. River higher than that Island, but as we had other Pilots in ye. Fleet, & Mr. Durels early enterprise required one of ye. best Pilots. The sending De Vitri with that squadron was undoubtedly right. If *Rabi* was found to fail The Admiral was not without *recourse*, if Mr. Durel wanted a good Pilot, He could not have got one afterwards, at least not until some French *prise* had chanced to furnish him with one or until He could have surprised one on ye. Isle of Coudre.

Before 12 the Fog cleared up & we Stood in for ye Southern Shore. Wind still directly contrary. Continued tacking & standing all that Evening from one shoar to ye. other when about 8 = five of the Capital Ships upon a Tack were near running on board each other, the Current being very strong, Few would answer ye. Helm at first. Our own Frigate ye. Diana, remain'd ungovernable for a long while & in ye. greatest Danger of having ye. Royal Willm. of 90 Guns with ye. Orford of 70, on board us In this critical situation, A Breeze sprung up which seconding the Ability of ye. respective Comanders of those Ships, saved us from that Shock, which but a few moments before seem'd Inevitable. Had ye. least Fog prevail'd, or had it been a little later, nothing could have prevented Mischief.

A little before 12 at night when we were upon ye. other Tack the Wind came about Southerly but continued not long, so that we made but little way this night—The 17th Calm, a little Wind in our favour about 12—but very light about one, calm until 12 this night, a pretty good Wind for 6 Hours next morning ; Made Isle St Barnabe the 18th it

fell calm & Grew Foggy. St. Barnabe on ye. Southern coast is 3 Leagues from ye. Bic ; never had any Inhabitants but an Hermit ; about 10 the Admiral made ye. Signal to anchor ; the Fog extreamly Thick in about a Minute quite clear on ye Larboard side & quite thick on ye. Starboard in 2 Minutes more all was dark again, our Frigate cast Anchor in 17 Fathom, muddy Bottom ; in about 10 Minutes clear again. that ye. Isle Barnabe was very plain 2 Leagues distant South West. All along ye. Coast we could perceive a French settlement—from the place called L'Ance au Cocque quite behind L'Isle St. Barnabè. This is ye. Settlement of Rimouski—esteem'd to contain about 300 Houses & a quantity of Cultivated Land. Inhabitants had been seen there ; nay upon some Boats going to reconnoitre a Bark which had been cast away upon the Isle St. Barnabé They were fired upon—Capt Spry's Boat received ye. same Treatment However the Admiral gave them no disturbance tho' we lay all anchor'd along the Shore for several Miles—this day 18th having dined on Board ye. Admiral, I learn'd from Capt. Hankinson of ye. Richmond dispatchd by Adl. Durel & by Letters He brought that ye. latter was at ye. Isle au Coudre & had detach 3 Ships forwards vide. Devonshire of 70 Guns. Pembroke 60. Centurion 50—& a Frigate.—

General Wolfe had no Letters from Col. Carlton, but from some intercepted French Letters it appear'd that Monsr. Montcalm commanded Quebec—that Monsr. Boishebert had marched with 100 Troops, part Canadians for ye. Lake Chaplain, that Canada was almost Starved. & that unless releived by Succours from France, its condition was so low that it could [offer] but little resistance—We had ye. Disagreeable News that 3 French Frigates & 26, other Vessels had got into ye. River 5 Days before—Durel arrived in it—Majr. Agnew of Anstruther's was left on ye. Isle of Coudre with 200 Men. The wind coming E. N. E. about 4 this Evening The Admiral made ye. Signal for unmooring ; & get under Sail when the Red Division followed, and about Half an Hour after Seven the Admiral made signal to Anchor, which we did in the Road of Bic in 11 Fathom & a Half. at 3 ye. next Morning (ye. 19th.) The Admiral made signal again to weigh The Wind having continued very favourable at

but upon the appearance of Dirty Weather Before the Fleet had made 4 Mile. He made ye. Signal for anchoring again—by this motion of ye. Division of our Fleet The Red Division closed with the Blue—a Thick Fog came on—The Cormorant Fireship Capt. Moat lost his Bowsprit we saw another Ship Damaged The P. of Orange of 64

Guns which joind us from Mr. Durels fleet was left at ye. Bic with ye. Cormorant. The Fleet came to an Anchor between ye. Isle of Bic & ye. main Land. Cape Orignal to the S. E. & by E. about 2 mile upon our Starboard quarter. Our Frigate anchor'd in 10 fathom Water—About three The Richmond Frigate Saild with General Wolfe—to push up ye. River. And the weather continuing fair—tho' it fell considerably about one; with ye. Departure of ye. Fogg & Rain. In ye. Evening ye. Adml. made a signal for all Masters of Sounding Vessels, and afterwards gave Capt. Schomberg Comander of ye. Diana (our Frigate) orders to proceed with The Red Division up the River—accordingly He made the Signal at half an Hour after three ye. next Morning (ye 20th.) & that Division got under Sail half an Hour after 4. With a small Breeze at East. The River above ye. Bic is about 7 Leagues in Breadth. Both Shores very high: The Southern very Beautifull. tho' of a most wild & uncultivated aspect. Save where a few stragling French Settlements appear. The Land about ye. Bic is very ill laid down in most of our Sea Charts, particularly in that I got thro' ye. Admiral's favour; but it is better laid down in Jefferies printed charts. we could now upon this fine River view The whole Fleet in three seperate Divisions upon the River. The Admiral with the Large Ships in ye. Rear, who weighd Anchor soon after us. At 12 the Wind came to ye. N. West so that we could not Venture to proceed any further. & our Division came to anchor our Ship in 20 fathom off ye Isle aux Pommes. about 4 ye. Strong Current came down which occasioned our Anchor to drive. but this was soon remedied

The 21st The Wind continued contrary Capt Schomber & myself went on shore on the Isle aux Pommes about 2 mile from us. which tho' it had at a distance ye. appearance only of a parcel of Rocks coverd only with Moss, yet upon our landing we found it very remarkable, not only for ye. colour & worn state of ye. Rocks which as this Island is particularly low & exposed to the Currents & Waves—is consequently uncommonly batterd; Its largest Rocks *peeling* away like decayed Timber, or Honeycombd Iron—Upon the Highest part of them where ye water does not reach, is covered by a very rich vegetation of Wild Strawberries, Cranberries, Gooseberries & a Sort of Grass like Rye Corn & We found here an Indian Wigwam some Mogasins & a fire where they had lately dressd their Victuals & the Master of ye. Neptune, who, we heard since had been there before us, had carried off a very good Indian Dress, probably some Scouting Party had lain there within this day or two, to

have made a Prisoner & Gain'd Intelligence : but upon finding Arm'd Boats approach, had return'd to ye. Southern Shore, about a Mile from the Island, seperated by a Shallow Channel. This Island abounds with Birds Eggs & is a considerable Re[n]dezvous of ye. Savages and French Hunters this time of ye. Year for Fishing & Rowling.

The 21st. Wind continued contrary till about 11, when upon a Signal off ye. Northern Shoar it veer'd 2 Points, but not sufficient to enable us to proceed—but about 12, it came to East South East upon which Capt. Schomberg made ye. Signal for weighing. The Admiral, made ye. same Signal just afterwards—Some of our Transports having got up their Anchors first & going a Head. Capt. Schomberg fired *at* Shot to make them bring to—we could perceive a Fire or Smoak raised near ye. French Settlement on ye. South Shore—upon our Signal to weigh All our Division & ye. Admirals large Ships were all under Sail in Half an Hour—Two of ye. Blue Division with Webbs Regiment & of ye. White Division appeared to be still with us. We had however but a little while to congratulate ourselves upon our Wind for before we had made above a League it fell calm The Admiral who by this time had got pretty near ye. Ground we had just anchor'd upon, opposite ye. Isle au Pommès made ye. Signal for coming to an Anchor. Great part of our Division a Head of him had got into ye. very worst part of ye. River when ye. Calm came on. The current was pretty strong & drove us towards ye. Northern Coast where was a very low Rocky Island call'd Isle Rouge, on our Larbord side was ye. Isle Vert—Rocky & but little Anchorage & that very near it, however as some appearance of a Breeze flatter'd us—The Admiral did not let his Anchor fall nor did we make ye. Signal for that purpose to our Division, having got our Boats out to contend with ye. Current as long as possible—When in a short time the Sternmost Ships gained upon us with a leading Gale.

I must here observe that this part of ye. River is reckon'd by some of our best Pilots one of ye. most Dangerous, not only from ye. low Rocky Islands ; from the ridges of Rocks that run out from them ; but from the dangerous Currents which in case of a Calm carry you upon ye. Isle Rouge ; its Battures ; or the Northern Coast ; which is nothing but High Rocks without any Anchorage. We left about 4 o'Clock upon our Starboard side the River Saguenay & Tadoussac a settlement—considerable for its traffick with ye. Savages of ye. Northern Coast, Tho' ye.

Wind was favourable yet The Evening being too far advanced to give us light had we run for ye. Isle au Coudre, Our Pilot was for coming to an Anchor off the West End of ye. Isle au Lièvres which we did at 8 o'Clock in 8 fathom—a strong Black Clay. The Chart I had copied from ye. Admiral was very just in all ye. Soundings & our Lead perfectly corresponded with it. The greater part of the Transports of our Division came to an Anchor near us ; and the Admiral who had followed with ye. large Ships made the signal to anchor—which He did opposite the Mountain Caconnu on ye. Southern Shore. At 3 the next morning, the (23d) the Wind being N. E. & by N: tho' but little of it. Capt. Schomberg made ye. Signal for weighing we got under sail but ye. current which run 4 Knots an hour. we could make no way. but about 7 having more Wind & ye. current being spent. we weighd again—The Admiral soon after made ye. Signal for the same. On the Northern Coast lies (as I said before). The Isle au Lievres. a long low Land coverd with Fir wood yet remarkable as I'm told for ye. quantity of Hares. & other Game which brings ye. Savages & Canadians there for Hunting ; Cape Salmon is a part of ye. Northern Coast near it, & is likewise a considerable Rendezvous for the same purpose. On ye. Southern Side is ye. Riviere des Loups. This Coast is low & protected by a very. broad & extensive Shoal which runs all along it quite to ye. Isles des Pelerins—which are very remarkable for their bold. Exposed Situation & Romantick appearance.—There is a French Settlement upon this Coast calld Les Habitans de Pelerins. & also another on ye. same side ye. River calld from ye. Mountain Caconnu—Les Habitans de Caconnu. on ye. Hills near which Settlements we perceived Fires regularly made as we Anchord or Saild forwards. We anchored this Evening at 5 a little above Malbaye in 14 fathoms Water. The Transports of our Division anchored a considerable Way below us. & many of them cast Anchor before we did, probably on account of ye. Currents. which run here at least 4 Knots an hour. We could see Mr. Durels Squadron at ye. Isle of Coudre. And the Blue Division lay right a Head of us about a league. The Admiral anchored this Evening just after us at nearly opposite the Pilgrims.

Malbaye just above which we Anchored is a little Baye upon the Northern coast where is a House Munitionnaire—so calld from its being a French Post of Traffick with ye. Savages. On the Southern Coast quite from ye. River Oval, all along the Vincelot—lies a settlement in

two Parishes called Paroisse de St. Ann & Paroisse de St. Roc. The Houses appeard to be neat & better than what we had seen elsewhere hitherto. and the Ground cultivated in larger Parcels. The Inhabitants of these two Parishes (whose chief Trade, is a plentiful Pourpoise & Seal Fishery—) are esteemd at 400 men. We saw none, but only fires made upon our approach.

June 24th. The wind came contrary & that pretty strong so that several Transports of ye. Division a Head we perceived to have drove from their Anchors & had Anchord nearer us. however as the Tide served us about one; Capt. Shomberg made ye. Signal for weighing. Our Progress however proved but very small, for the Wind fluctuated just as the Site of the mountains conveyd it in different Gullies, insomuch that several of ye. Transports had within a small Distance of each, (had) different Winds—but as some of them chose for some Reason best known to themselves to stand in for ye. Southern Coast quite upon ye. Bature Oval (where a Fireship appeard to be aground) Capt. Schomberg came to an Anchor again.

A Midshipman from Adml. Durel came on board with Orders to Capt. Schomberg to proceed with all possible dispatch He told us that Admiral Saunders was gone up the River in the Hind & that Adml. Durel had word that ye. French were erecting a Bomb Battery against us in a narrow part of ye. Channel near a Church.

On ye. 25th. we weighd again about 3 but had so little Wind that we could not make above 2 mile before ye. Current turnd against us, so anchored. The Wind coming E. by N. about 10 Capt. Schomberg made ye. Signal to weigh Half an Hour afterwards. The Force of ye. Current by that time having declined. We pass'd Sir Charles at ye. Isle of Coudre, in ye. P. Amelia 80 Guns Vanguard 70. Captain 70. P. Frederick 70 & the Hind Frigate—

Capt. Doake of ye. Lizard Frigate says He went in with his Boats & sounded a Bay upon ye. Northern Coast of Anticosti & found good Anchorage

N. B. It has been allways confidently Given out by ye. French that there was no Harbour or Bay upon this Island fit for any thing but small Vessels & it has been as absurdly taken for granted by the Credu-

lous & Lazy English to be ye. case; not one of his Majesties Ships having ever before been sent to explore so important a shore.

The following notes were copied from the end of the diary:

The 18 Genl. Wolf went to Point Levy & order'd me on no account to fire at ye. French Camp or Trenches—I was oblig'd to obey tho' I saw
.....

27th. Came to an anchor opposite St Laurent on ye. Isle of Orleans.
Landed ye. 27th.

bad Weather 27 at night fleet between ye. Isle Orleans & ye. S. Shore in great Distress Monckton marchd his Division to Point Levi on ye. 30th.

30th.

My Brigade marchd July 1st. to ye. Point Orleans.

That the Richmond [or] any other Frigate may lay as near as convenient to ye. 2 Batteries that upon their firing upon the Boats she may rake them & ye. French Troops which may come down to ye. Shore to attack ye. Boats in their Passage.

That the transports with Troops on board come in nearer to the Richmond & anchor in *more* as if they were intended to land their men.

The Boats go with ye. High Water

This is written on the following page of the manuscript.

to embark tomorrow about 3 or 4 in ye. Evening. 1190 Men—70 in a Boat at one Embarkation—17 Boats with 70 men in each.

2d. Embarkation to follow ye. whole will be over before its Dark.

Bragg's Graenrs.	67
Lascelles Graenrs.	79
Monckton's Graenrs.	97

Braggs Light Infantry	48
Lascelles Lt. Infant :	72
Moncktons Lt. Infant.	40
	<hr/>
	160
 Braggs Batt.	 356
Lascelles Batt.	335
Monckton Batt.	393
	<hr/>
	1084

Total of ye. Brigade 1487

Light Infantry on ye side of Montmorenci about 400.

10 Companys Greenrs (excluding ye. 3 Companies of ye. Brigade.)

DAY

NIGHT

Reinforcement	Union Flagg	Sky Rockets repeated
Provisions	Yellow Pendant	3 Lanterns perpendly
Tools	Yellow Flagg	1 Lantern
Artillery	Blue Flagg	3 Horizontal Lanterns
Flat bottomd Boats .	Red Flagg	3 Lantern Triangle
Ammunition	Red Flag Yellow Pendant	
	over it	4 Lanterns perpendicular

The Admiral will answer these Signals by same Flaggs.

Sunday ye. 8 July marchd from ye Camp at Point of Orleans at 8 o'clock—The flat Bottom Boats had fallen down about half an Hour past 3—that Day in full View of ye. Enemy—The Porcupine Frigate & Boscawen Arm'd Sloop had fallen downsp 12—ye. forenoon. The General gave ye. Command of all ye Light Infantry to Col. Howe & ye. Grenadiers consisting of 7 Compagnies of ye. Line & 3 from my Brigade to Col. Carlton—my Brigade made ye. 2 embarkation & we past near all at once—upon my Landing I had no one sent to shew me ye. Road ye. rest had taken tho' it was dark. & found all ye. Baggage of ye. different Grendrs. & Light Infantry left in a long String in ye. Meadows, at considerable distances. No officer to command ye. whole & no where 5

A.P. 11—16

Men together, so that 10 Savages might have plunderd ye. whole & massacred ye. Men one by one. I orderd ye. whole to assemble in one body & left an officer & 20 Men of each Regiment to take a good post & Guard ye. Baggage of these Regts. & that of ye. Brigade which I now left on one spot—in order to push on ye. quicker to support ye Advanc'd Corps. When I turn'd up a Road to our Right which from what I'd seen from ye. other side of ye. water I judged would lead. up to ye. Commanding Grounds near ye. fall of Montmorency ; I halted when I had got ye. first Regiment up ye. Hill & form'd it & sent a Detachment down to assist in drawing up ye. Cannon—The Day now broke—in a short time we got up ye. 6—6 Pounders. tho' ye. Road was excessively steep & such as none but little Country Carts had ever passd. Upon my arriv'al at ye. Head quarters ye. General gave me a Hint that He thought I had not passd—suggesting I suppose I had been dilatory ; tho' I never waited a moment but for ye. mounting ye. Cannon. Even passing several Copses which hung over our Heads allmost, where He had not posted one Single Sentry to direct our march or secure our Flanks. nay every officer acknowledged that it surpassed their imagination that men so harrassd should get so much artillery up such Heights in so short a time—When I came to ye. quarters. Col. Carlton told me He had made ye. best Disposition He could with so small an Army He had placed our Right to some Rocky Heights, very woody & our left to ye. River. by this Disposition we did not possess ye. Heights & our right Flank was exposed to ye. most advantageous Ground in ye. world for their Savages to act, but whilst Col. Carlton was speaking He was inform'd that General Wolfe had alterd ye. position of our Camp that we were to encamp with that woody Height in ye. Rear of our left—our front towards ye. River, & our Right towards ye. Fall—by this position we should have had our Front to our friends on ye. Isle of Orleans—our right Flank to ye. Enemy & a pass under ye. Falls—& our Rear open to ye. woods & be exposed to ye. Incursions of all ye. Savages They chose to pass over ye. Fords up ye. River to annoy us—However ye. Doubt was not long which of these two Camp we should prefer—for a number of their Savages rushd Suddenly down upon us from ye. Rocky Woody Height I had described before—drove a few Rangers that were there down to my Quarters for refuge. wounded both their officers in an Instant scalped 13 or 14 of their Men & had it not been for Murray's Graenadiers who were in a Barn & for Braggs Graenadiers who were in another Barn

joining to my quarters—ye. latter of which attack'd them very bravely whilst ye. other inclined to ye. right to surround them they had Spread Confusion every where—before ye. Graenads had time to stand to their Arms one was wounded at my door, another just by it, in this situation we remaind till late in ye. Evening ye. General having placed ye. Regt. upon this Attack in Companies with their Front to ye. side ye. Enemy could only attack us. having no orders to entrench—in ye. Evening I thought it necessary not to leave ye. Brigade. liable to be attack'd in ye. night. & therefore in less than three Hours I ran up a very good Parapet with Angles rentrans (?) which coverd ye Front of ye 2 Battalions ye General permitted to front ye accessible part of ye Country. I fortified likewise ye Flank by a Parapet round my House & Barbet for Cannon which raked all ye Edges of that Rocky Heitgh whence The Indians could before annoy us. & I may venture to say put ye Camp as to fire arms hors d'insulte, add to this that upon ye officer of Artillery representing to me that his Guns where they were orderd to be placed were so far advanced He must retire them in ye night, I ran out a Sallient Angle which inclosed them—The part of each face I made & Barbet by which these Guns raked both of ye right & ye left ye Ground in ye front of ye 2 Lines of Musquetry I had made.

We had no alarm this night tho' several Indians had been seen on this side ye. River Montmorenci & not a Post of Light Infantry was charged with ye. protection of ye. Front of ye. Camp & ye. most passable parts of that River. The next morning the General having gone early to rest in ye. Evening I reported to him what I'd done & in ye. Evening He went round ye. Front—& disaproved of it—saying I had indeed made myself secure, for I had made a fortress; that snall Redoubts were better than lines—that ye. men could not man these Lines—nor sally out if they pleased—at ye. same [time?] that He said this He had one Battalion of my Brigade & 2 which had arrived that morning from ye. Isle of Orleans encamp'd upon ye. decent of ye. Hill with their Front to ye. River St. Lawrence & ye. Rear of our first Line; exposed to ye. Cannon Shot of ye. Enemy ye. first of which went thro' their Tents & raked their encampment from Right to left Now to prove, that had the Lines I made been to extensive (which were only such as coverd ye. Front of ye. Companies He Himself had drawn up from the sudden Incursions of ye. Savages) yet He might have remedied it by bringing up one of these Regiments encampd behind in an useless & exposed Situation which two

Regiments in case of an attack must countermarch & take up a contrary Front to what He now gave them.

With respect to his objection to the making my work like a Fortress—I must observe that He must have had an uncommon Disposition to find fault with me—for making my work too Strong in three Hours Time & I'm sure had any Body considered that we had an ungarded Front Commanding Woody Heights upon our Right and if the Enemy In Force a commanding Ground along our whole Front—ye. Ground behind in a Descent ye. whole way to ye. water Side, precipices there, & no retreat—would have easily forgiven me ; for making ye. Brigade as Strong as possible in such a situation—& putting it as much as I could in three Hours *in a Fortress*—another objection of ye. Generals was that I could not sally out of my Lines, to these Lines or rather this Parapet a little more than a quarter of a Mile in front There were three several openings besides the parts I had left en barbet for The cannon—about 3 foot High—over which a man with 200 Weight on his back might step, & these at ye. Sallient Angles—The best part to sally from when your Enemy is in Disorder because you are neare him & gain his Flanks. These overtures were left for ye. Cannon en Barbet which He removed directly, but what above all shew's the Futility of ye. objection & the partiality of his Judgment—I need only say what ye. materiels & proportion of this Work, were which so much [resembles] a Fortress. It was just this & no more—The Strongest of ye. Pailing of ye. Country Fences, 2 of each drove in opposite each other at ye. distance of about 5 or 6 foot, between these Stakes we laid long Rails & the intermediate Space fill'd with Earth. As the Rails were every where at Hand 20 Men could make 20 yards of parapet in this manner in a quarter of an Hour as there was no Fossé a Soldier could leap over it from ye. Inside in an Instant—or by pulling up only ye. Stakes on ye. inside, which is done in an Instant a Subdivision may march out in order—Tho' this was ye. State of ye. Case yet I was never reprimanded for ye. Strength and form of my Fortification, made a moment after The Insecurity of our Disposition & outposts had brought The Enemies Savages into ye. very center of our quarters.

On this Day before ye. General removed my Cannon, I had observed several officers reconnoitring as from a part of ye. wood on ye. other side ye. River Monmorenci which ensladed our Camp upon which apprehensive they would establish some Battery there to take advantage of ye. Flank

of our Position presented to them. I reported this to ye. General who treated it lightly. My two peices of Cannon which had obliged ye. Enemy to retire from this place & they had not returnd all that Evening, were carried down to grace ye. park. of Artillery ye. General chose to ornament his quarters with upon ye. Descent of ye. Hill & our whole right & front left without any. The next Day I perceiv'd with my Glass an officer (with an Escort) very much answering ye. description of Monsr. Montcalm examining our Camp from ye. same Spot. I acquainted ye. General with this who rather laugh'd at it & at my expectation of any annoyance from that part. On the 13th. in ye. morning by Break of Day Maj'r Morris field officer of ye. Picquet acquainted me that the French had raised a Battery in ye. wood which ensladed our Camp & that they had work'd as far as to compleat ye. Embrazures, which were coverd at present with Fascines. In a short time the General was out making a disposition for a new Encampment; which however would not have been secure from being raked by ye. Enemies Artillery. In this situation of things I immediately as far as my own Brigade extended, examined all ye. part of ye. Entrenchment which lay parrallel to ye. Enemies Battery, which I immediately orderd ye. Regiments to work at, and by thickning ye. Parapet & digging a deep ditch behind it, I made pretty near Cannon proof, knowing that tho' ye. Regiments were obliged to decamp to their new ground yet, those parts of ye. Work which lay Parrallel to ye. Enemies Embrazures, would both cover ye. Brigade in its new Camp & protect whatever part of ye. Regiments ye. General should order to lay advanced on their Arms to sustain some workmen He had now orderd to begin to work at some Batteries. Whilst I was directing ye. work, I heard that ye. General was sett out for ye. Point of Orleans, thence to pass over to ye. Point of Levi leaving me the first officer in ye. Camp not only without orders but even ignorant of his departure or time of return. Upon this I ran down as fast as [I] could (just recoverd of a fever) to ye. water side—& having desired Mr. Caldwell to stop him till I could come up with him He received me in a very stately manner; not advancing five steps; I told him that if I had suspected his intention of going over I had waited on him for his Commands which I should be glad to receive & execute to his satisfaction. Sir says he very dryly The Adjutant General has my orders, permit me Sir to ask are ye Troops to encamp now on their new ground or not to do it until ye Enemies Battery begins to play

PROCEEDINGS UP THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE.

The Transports Distinguished by the Following Names :

White Division : Brigadr. Genl. Monckton

Ancherata	Plain White
Kennedyn	White with one red ball
Anstruthers	White with three red balls
Frazers	White with two Blue balls

Red Division : Brigadr. Genl. Townshend

Briggs	Plain Red (in Three Strips
Lancelles	Red with one White Ball
Moncktons	Red with Three White Balls

Blue Division : Brigadr. Genl. Murray

Otways	Plain Blue
Webbs	Blue with one white Ball
Lawrences	Blue with three white Balls

Crenadiers of Louisbourg Half Red half White

R	W
---	---

Light Infantry Half Blue half White

B	W
---	---

Rangers Red, White & Blue Strip'd

R
W
B

Artillery Red & Blue Strip'd

R
B

Mounted Cavalry Yellow and a Blue Stripe in the Middle

Privateers with Privateers & No Decks Blue & Yellow Strip'd

B
Y

Navy Victuallers Blue & Yellow Chequerd

B	Y	B
Y	B	Y

Sounding Vessels Red & White Chequer'd

R	W	R
W	R	W

Anchoring Vessels Yellow & Blue

Y	B
---	---

Vessels to anchor on Shoals all Yellow

Generals Tenders, Blue White & Red

B
W
R

TO PREPARE TO LAND

The Signal for the Troops is a Blue & Yellow Chequer'd Flag at the Main Top Gallant Mast Head and a Gun.

To Land, a Red & White Chequer'd Flag at the same place and a Gun.

*Brigadier General Monckton**Lieut. Colonels**Majors*

15th Amhersts
58th Anstruthers
28th Frazers
43d Kennedys

Brigadr. Genl. Murray
Howe
Frazers
James

Irwin
Agnew
Clephan
Elliot

*Brigadier Genl. Townshend**Lieut. Colonels**Majors*

28th Braggs
Monckton
47th Lascelles

Walsh
Commanded by Capt. Oswald
Hale

Dalling
Hussey

Brigadier Genl. Murray

35th Otways	Fletcher	Morice
Lawrence	Young	Provost
28th Webbs	Barton	Ross

Grenadiers of Louisbourg under the Command of Lt. Col. Murray

Rangers Commanded by Major Scott.

Artillery Colonel Williamson & Major Goodwin.

Engineers Major Mackellar

Miners Capt. Derwine

Carpenters Colonel Gridley

A List of the Transports with their Commanding Officers of General Townshends Brigade.

	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Commanding Officers</i>
Braggs Regt.	{ Blacketts Three Sisters Fortitude	Col. Walsh Major Dalling Capt. Corry
Lascelles Regt.	{ Two Brothers Ward Laurel European	Col. Hale Capt. Spike Capt. Cox Capt. Smelt.
Moncktons	{ Lym Eden & Mary Maria	Capt. Oswald Capt. Oughterloney Lieut. Ecuyer.

July the 17th. In the Morning a party of Indians attacked a party of Otways Making Facines in the Woods, Killed 5 (three of whose scalps they carried of) and wounded five more about the same time three Grenadiers of the 3d Battan. of Royal Americans deserted, they were Germans enlisted from a French Regiment at Louisbourg last year.

The General ordered the six Companies of Grenadrs. of the Line to

be at the Water side at 8 o'clock, a little after they were Countermanded and order'd to be under arms in the afternoon with Otways Regt., when the General made them go through several manuevers.

This day a French deserter came into us who seem'd pretty Intelligable.

18th. We observed the French still going on making new works and additions to their Entrenchments. The Genl. went over to Point Levi, and left orders that Genl. Townshend Should not fire on the French, in case of bringing their Fire from their Batteries on our Encampment, about 12 o'clock as our boats was going up to the Fleet, the Enemy sent out their Boats and fired on them, which obliged ours to put a Shore on the Island of Orleans, we fired several shot at them from our Batteries but did them no harm. The Genl. sent a Captain with a Company of Ligth Infantry out with the French Deserter, in order to make discoveries up the River Montmorenci but he lost his way, some Peasants fired on them they Kill'd one that run up to them. About 12 we observed the Ships to go past the Town, and heard that the General had ordered Lawrences Regiment with them all their attention is directed to the falls they seem to have Neglected above the Town entirely.

19th. The General being apprehensive of an attack on this side of the Falls sent to Genl. Townshend who Commanded here to strengthen the out Posts which he did, he ordered Field Pieces to cover the Flanks and front of the Encampment he likewise order'd Col How to finish a work he had begun about his Encampment and Albest it. The Enemy are still at work on their Entrenchments in Extending and Strengthening them. They again sent out their Boats, in order to attack ours but did them no Injury, the Genl. came over from Point Levi at 2. Brigadr. Townshend gave orders for the army on this side to get under arms at their Several Alarm Posts in case of an attack they might know their proper Stations. The General did not stay above an hour on this Side, in the evening Brigadr. Townshend ordered some Cannon & Hoitzers to be fired on the Enemy, as they were relieving their Entrenchments which seemingly to us put them in great Confusion. heard that the Fleet got up without any loss there was only three shot that struck the whole Squadron. They burnt some of the French fire Boats.

20th. They Continued from the Point to Cannonade the town, The

Genl. sent orders for the 3 Companies of Grenadrs. of Louisbourg and the 6 other Companies of Grenadrs. to be at the water side at 12 this Night in order to go over to the Island of Orleans before Day break that the French might not perceive they were gone. The Enemys boats was makeing ready to come out to intercept ours. But Brigadr. Townshend order'd our lower Batteries of 4—24 Pounders to fire on them, which not only prevented their Coming out but made them go up to the Town for Shelter, we likewise observed them burying several men which our Cannon had kill'd in their Boats.

21st. All the 9 Companies of Grenadiers got over the Island Orleans by two in the morning, It Rained most of the Day very hard, so that the men Cou'd neither work nor cut Fascines, It was with great difficulty they carried the Artillery Stores down to the water side, and some of them to mend the Road for the Cannon & Hoitzers that was to be drawn down at night

We observed the Enemy to begin to work at the Batteries they had before most raised on the Banks of the River Montmorenci Genl Townshend order'd some Cannon & Hoitzers to be fired, which entirely demolished it.

Arrived from Port Orleans 100 of Durours & Colwalls that was under the Command Majr Hardy then after Dark that the Enemy might not perceive it all the Hoitzers & some Cannon were carried down to the Beach Embark'd in Boats with great Secrecy. Our Lower Batteries have so destroyed their Floating Batteries that they do not attempt to get them out again.

22d. Genl. Townshend had a letter from Genl. Wolfe dated Point Levi giving him an acct. of a Detachment of the 3d Battalion of Royal Americans and the Grenadier Companies of the 1st. Brigade that he had sent over the North Side of the River under the Command of Major Provost, they took 200 Women a Jesuite some Canadians & kill'd & scalped 3 Indians, Major Provost & one of the Highland Officers was wounded & about six men, Brigadr. Townshend had a letter from the Adml. not to send any more artillery over untill farther orders, The Genl. seemd to be at a stand which place to make his attack. He sent an order to Genl. Townshend to send over Col. Howe with his Light Infantry to the Island of Orleans in the night and Anstruthers to take up their

ground. Genl. Townshend ordered two Picquets a Detachment of Light Infantry a Lieut. & 30 Rangers with a working party to Parade before Dark with a design to alarm the French, Genl. Wolfe coming over from Point Levi about 7 Genl. Townshend went with them himself, He sent the Rangers up the Banks of the River but with particular orders to keep out of the Fire of the Enemy, & not to expose themselves. He march'd himself with the Picqts a little on their Right and the Light Infantry he ordered to come down on 'the Skirt of the Woods about a mile on his right to take a Swipe round and meet him at a place he pointed out in the Center. When within a few yards of the Wood the Enemy from the other side of the River gave us a pretty smart fire, Shot the Offr. of the Rangers through the Thigh Hat & Shoulder, one of the men in the arm it gave them the alarm which was all that was intended, The Genl. sent the women into Quebec that was taken.

23d. General Wolfe & Brigadr Murray went away from this Camp at 6 in the morning.

The Enemy opened their New Ambresurs at their Low Battery by the water side, In the afternoon Genl. Townshend left his Camp and went on board the Admiral where he met the other three Generals & Admiral, in the evening Genl. Wolfe & Murray went to Montmorenci Camp, Monckton & Townshend to Point Levi.

24th. There was a new Battery of 6 Guns begun at Point Levi at 8 a Flag of Truce Came out from the Town by Mns. Merci. Commanding Officer of Artillery, he went on board the Admiral was detained until 5 at night so that our Batteries Cou'd play none that day at night we set the Town on fire in three places (Col. Frazer with 400 of his Regt. went on a Scowring party and Major Dalling and 300 Light Infantry on another. The Former down the South Side of the River and so Cut Through the woods to the Shoidere the Latter went into the Wood & was to penetrate a good way in the Country. Genl. Wolfe ordered another Redout to be made at the Montmorenci Camp & a New Battery.

25th. Major Dallings Party sent into Genl. Moncktons Quarters about 300 prisoners mostly Women & Childen one Priest and about 200 head of Cattle, in the evening Genl. Townshend Come over to Montmorenci.

Col. Frazer & Capt. Mompheson was wounded. That detachment brought in Six Prisoners.

26th. Genl. Wolfe & Murray at 1 this Morning Marched wth. Otways Regt 350 Light Infantry & Rangers 2 pieces of Artillery up by the River Montmorenci at the same time Braggs Regt March'd down the North Side of the River St. Lawrence, Genl. Wolfe sent back his 2 pieces of Artillery the Horses not being used to draw.

Two Companies of Marines Came over from Point Levi. Genl. Wolfes Detachmt. march up the River untill they Came to one of the Fords where they met with a party of Indians & Canadians who fired on them from the other side of the River about 11 they were attack'd by a party of Canadians & Indians our people drove them over the water, altho' at first the Right of Otways Regt. was put a little in confusion, so that Genl. Wolfe Left them Came into Camp & ordered the Line to be turned out But Brigadier Murray who was by with the Command after the Genl. was gone by ordering two Companies from the left of Otways, pursued them over the River as fast that a great many of them was kill'd in the water, the Enemy had got a Post there and raise'd a breast work to defend the Ford, on their knowing our people was there they sent up strong Detachments from their Camps to support that place. About four the Detachment Return'd we had 45 killed and wounded among the kill'd was Capt. Fletcher & Lieut. Hamilton of Otways, Lieut. Field mortally wounded Capt. Mitchelson & Bell wounded.

27th. Capt. Frazers sent in one of his people to Camp about 7 in the Morning with an account of his seeing a Party of 4 or 500 Indians & that he was apprehensive of being Surrounded he was down the Side of the River advanced before Braggs with part of his Company Genl. Townshend order'd one hundred men from Lascelles with the Picqt of Anstruthers & Moncktons to March immediately under the Command of Col Hale & Col Howe with his Light Infantry. He followed them himself—An advanced party of Braggs that was on the rising grounds near the Woods to cover them Received a fire out of the Skirts of the woods on which the whole Regimnt stood to their arms rushed up to the woods receiving a smart fire all the way without their returning one shot till they got into the woods they drove the rascals away, took one Canadian Prisoner & observed the tracks of some that had either been wounded or

kill'd Carried off. They left a great many of their Trinkets behind them, Brigad. Townshend coming up while Braggs was pursuing in the woods sent orders for them to retire Braggs had two kill'd & 6 wounded.

The Prisoner informed Genl Townshend that there was a party of about 200 Canadians & Indians Commanded by one Boucher Ville famous pardisan and the Priest of the Parish with them.

Braggs people drove into the Camp about 150 Horses Cattle & Sheep but destroyed none of their houses and particularly left everything entier in the Churches and anything that was found to belong to the Church the Genl. order'd them to put it in its place.

From the breast works of the other side of the River Montmorenci an Officer of the Royal Americans was wounded and a soldier Kill'd.

28th. This last Night the Enemy sent down 80 of their Shore Floats all made fast together against the Fleet but it did no harm, Early in the morning Genl. Wolfe went over to Point Levi, the Line was ordered out to get new alarm posts but the Genl. not Comeing over till 8 they were order'd in again. A Deserter came over from the French he was a Pensilvanian Taken at the Ohio wth. Mr. Grant they obliged him to carry arms he was very intelligent gave an account of the Canadians being uneasie to get to their harvest, and of some Fords over the Montmorenci which he has passed over. That the Genl. seem'd to like much.

29th. There was a new Redout ordered to be made, all the Line was under arms at 6 in the evening when they were shew'd to their several alarm Posts—The General intends to make an attack on one of the Enemy's detach'd Redouts by the water side with the Grenadiers tomorrow and orders are given out for that Purpose. This night the Enemy sent out their boats who got over in the Dark and lay under the Island of Orleans in order to intercept our Boats, some of ours Coming down with Light Infantry they attacked but we rowed too fast for them they fired but did not hurt any of our men.

30th. Genl. Wolfe left the Camp at 10 to go on board the Admiral things not being ready, the Intended attack being put off till tomorrow. The Genl. came to Camp at 8 & gave orders for the Regts. to be in Readiness for the Intended attack.

A Sergt. of ye Royal Americans deserted that was on an advanced Picqt. he was enlisted at Louisbourg.

31st. In the morning all the Artillery was drawn up on the Face of the Bank & put in order to Rake the French Entrenchments. The Generals Intentions was to attack a Redoubt that Guarded the 2 Batteries on the Beach with the Grenadr. of the Line He gave orders to Genl. Townshend to put his Brigade in readiness in order to support him & gave him a Signal that he was to hoist when he should want him, He did the same to Brigadr Murray, about 10 two Transports got under sail (that had got guns on board of them & had been lightened for that purpose) and came down opposite to the French Batterys they run on shore & begun to fire at the same time the Centurion a 50 Gun Ship came to anchor and begun to fire, Genl. Wolfe left the Encampmt. to go and attack with the Grenadiers, He likewise had order'd a Detachment from Genl. Monckton at Point Levi to Support this attack, At 11 our Artillery begun to fire on the Enemys Entrenchments which by all appearance to us did great Execution.

The Boats about 2 o'clock begun to row in shore, Genl. Townshend after giving orders to the Several Regiments to bring their baggage & Tents within the Second Line He order'd them all to get under Arms to be ready to march on the Genls. making the signal or sending him orders. Col. Howe in order to make a faint had orders to march with the Regt. of Anstruthers & the Light Infantry up the side of the Montmorenci River and to march back on his Receiving orders to join the rest of the Battalions it was to support the attack ; Genl. Townshend gave him orders to retire as the 3 Regiments was drawn up which were the Regimts of Braggs Otways Lascelles and Anstruthers, Genl. Townshend on the Right & Genl. Murray on the Left at 4 Genl. Wolfe sent orders to Genl. Townshend to March at Six was on the Beach and marched over the Ford of the River Montmorenci on his seeing the Grenadier boats Gaining the Shore soon after the Grenadiers Getting a Shore they form'd March'd up rather too much in a hurry, as they broke their orders before they got to the place of attack) to the Redout with great Courage, 200 of the Royal Americans that had been order'd to support them march'd up at the same time Genl. Monckton with the Regimt. of Amhurst & Frazer landed on the Beach & drew up Genl. Townshend with his column in good order and with great coolness was had cross'd the Ford and was

marching up along the Beach, the Grenadiers who had by this time got up to the Redout which was within less than point blank musquet Shot of the Enemy's Entrenchments above Circumstance the General believed had not been before: The attack was made, the Enemy abandon the Redoubt and Battery but they kept up such a constant fire from the Breast work above that it was impossible for men to stand under it & that the Hill to the Breast work so high & steep it cou'd not be forced at that place on which the Grenadiers begun to Retreat, Genl. Townshend who had been marching up was got within about 200 yards of the Genl. He sent an officer to him for his orders & to know what he should do, the Genl. to him was that he should Retreat in as good order as possible, over the Ford again He received the Fire of a Battery all the way had only one man wounded of the Column, Genl. Wolfe followed Genl. Monckton wth Amhurst Regt. and what remained of the Grenadiers & Royal Americans Embarkt in the Boats & went over to Point Levi & the point of Orleans. The Admiral sent an order to burn the two Catts which was done rather too much in a Hurry as all the Guns and two Brass Field Pieces that the Genl. had order'd to be put on board was destroy'd. There was 420 Men & 30 Officers Kill'd & Wounded mostly Grenadiers.

1 August 1759. A Deserter Came in that had left the Enemy's Camp 2 Days before he said that there was a great many that Deserted but they fell into the Hands of the Indians who scalpt them all he himself was very nigh undergoing the same fate—There was two small Redouts order'd to be made in the Front of the Line for the Quc. Gds. fired several shot from our Lower Batteries at the Enemy who were going on Board the Remains of the Burnt Ships & Carrying the Shot and other things a Shore.

2d.—Saw the Enemy repairing their Entrenchment & Traverses that our Cannonade had destroyed the day of the attack, Admiral Saunders Came to the Camp the Genl. & he left it, the Genl. went to Point Levi & Orleans. Monr. De Merci Came from Quebec with a Flag of Truce he brought money for the Prisoners and a Letter from Capt. Augh-terloney who was taken prisoner and mortally wounded at the attack of the Redout The General return'd to Camp in the Evening.

3d.—Anstruthers Regiment was out in the morning to perform some

Manouvers in the Woods, the General sent Brigadr. Murray on Board of the Admiral to consult with him about a plan he had form'd of Sending him above the Town with some Regts. Braggs Regimt was out in the afternoon doing the same Anstruther had done, Brigadr. Murray Came back to Camp in the Evening 7 Hoitzers Came down to this Camp again they were the same that was carried away 8 Days before.

4th.—Otways Regt, & the Light Infantry are order'd out this Evening at 8 o'clock to go down by the North Side of the River toward the Village.

Genl. Townshend & Murray left the Montmorenci Camp. Genl. Murray to Consult the Admiral about landing Flat Bottom'd Boats up the River to Carry his detachment that was to be under his Command. On Brigadr. Murrays going to Point Levi Amherst Regt. Major Dallings Light Infantry Some Rangers and 200 Marines were order'd to be ready to march Tomorrow night at 9 O'clock to Capt. Goreham's Post, where there was Boats to be ready for them.

5th Otways Regimt & the Light Infantry returned they brought in 4 Canadians prisoners that were sent from Vaudrile to the Settlement at St. Paul's Bay with Scalping Knives & Ammunition they see 6 but 2 of them made their escape Capt. Gorham with 60 Rangers and a Detachmt. of 40 men from the Camp was sent down to the bay of St. Pauls to destroy that Settlement Genl. Townshend left Point Levi Camp went on board the Admiral when he meet wth. Genl. Wolfe they came to Montmorenci Camp that Night: The Boats that was sent up past the Town to carry Genl. Murrays detachment put the Enemy's Camp in alarm they beat to arms beginning at the Town all the way to Montmorenci & it Rain'd very hard most of the Night.

6th. The Enemy Encamp'd a very large Body of Men in the Village above the Beauporte Church, Lascelles Regt. was orderd to march this night at 8 O'Clock the same day as Braggs & Otways, had been before, and Austruthers to go out the next morning at 6 O'clock with some Light Infantry they were to gain the riseing grounds and penetrate a little into the Woods, as it was suspected the Inhabitants of the Villages below had retired into the Woods wth. their cattle, The Enemy are perpetually at work in makeing Traverses and Additions to their Entrenchments we fire

some time at them from our Artillery—7 floats seemingly intended for *fiar ras* (? fire rafts.) Came down from the Town.

7th. Austruthiers marcht at 6 Genl. Wolfe went with them They all returned in again about three and found nothing.

8th. This Morning an Indian Swam over the Ford below the Falls with an Intention as we supposed to Scalp a Centry, but on the Centry running up to him and presenting his piece to his breast he got down on his knees threw away his knife and deliverd himself up, he was a very savage looking brute & naked all too an arse Clout he seem'd to be very apprehensive of putting him to Death, altho there was several in the Camp that spoke Indian Language we Cou'd not get him to understand any sort of Languages. Most Nights we hear the Indians Hollow in the Woods all about us.

9th. At 1 the Morning The Battery from point St. Piere set fire to the town it Burnt most part of the Day Consumed a great part of the Lower Town. Braggs & the Light Infantry are under orders to march tomorrow morning early on a Forageing Party, and at the same time the 2 Companies of Grenadrs. of the Royal American Battalions to go down the River in Boats & escort Genl. Wolfe to the Village St. Joachim.

10th. Braggs & the Light Infantry return'd in the afternoon and the 3 Companies of Grenadiers at 10 at night they see some peasants who fired on him out of a house and wounded five men.

The Regimts here are out every day a manuvering—And we continue to divert ourselves by firing our Cannon Hoitzers & Mortars on the French Camp & Village of Beauporte sometimes in the Day and sometimes at Night.

2 Marines was found scalpt in the Woods at Point Levi.

11th. This morning at 6 oclock as the working party of 300 men went out to cut Fascines on their Coming to the Skirt of the Wood and going to post their Covering Partys they discover'd people among the Trees. The Commanding Officer of the Party posted his men in order to prevent his being Flankt before he had done they gave him a smart fire from the Woods, on hearing fireing the Picquets of the Army & Light Infantry was order'd out to assist him, But as usual the Enemy

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had retreated through the Woods, They kill'd & wounded us 33 men and we kill'd them one poor miserable Canadian we cou'd not tell what this party consisted of. The General had a letter from Brigadr. Murray. Acquainting him of his haveing had several skirmishes with the Enemy & Various success he had 100 men kill'd and wounded Major Erwin Maitland & Capt. Delaur among the wounded, Capt. Goreham that went to the Bay of St. Pauls sent an account of his haveing Burnt & Destroy'd that Settlement he had 7 of his men wounded.

At 10 this night 2 Men of War & 3 Transports was to go up past the Town in them the Genl. had put a Re-inforcement of 200 Men to Brigadr. Murray from Kennedys Regiment under the Command of Major Elliot. Brigadr Murray said that he had taken some prisoners and that the Enemy had 4000 men above.

The General gave it out in orders that if any soldier choos'd to go out in the Woods and lay in Ambush for the Indians and bring in an Indian Scalp should have 5 Guineas reward.

12th. A Deserter came into Camp this morning he belong'd to the Regiment of Quier give us an account of M. Levi going up above the Town with 2 men from each Company as Voluntier the men of war as we imagined did not go up only one small Schooner.

13th. Genl. Townshend went out this morning with a Detachment of 1000 men) to the woods in order to Cut as many Fascines as should be wanted in this Encampment he posted the Covering party, in such a manner that the men work'd in the greatest safety. The Genl. sent orders for another Battery of 8 Guns to be raised at Point St. Piere.

14th. 4 Sailors was found scalpt on the Island of Orleans Some sea Officer went down the North Channel of the River St. Lawrence from Quebec Bason to C. Torment a Sounding & found it to be a better Navigation than the South Channel & depth of water enough for large Shiping a thing they had never thought of till this day.

15th. Genl. Wolfe made known his Intentions to General Townshend of the way he designed to attack the Enemy Next

The Enemy sent down from Quebec one of their Floating Batteries She went ashore Opposite to their Lower Battery. Our people fired on her

from our Battery below 1 Shot went through her and set her on fire, she was loaded with Shells and other Artillery Stores, as she burnt the Shells Blew up. A Deserter came in he was one of the Militia & an inhabitant of St. Pauls.

An arm'd Vessell went down the River & Came to an anchor off St. Joachim.

16th. Last night 7 Marines Deserted from Point Levi The 200 Men of Kennedys Regiment intended to go up in the Ships to reinforce Brigadr. Murray disembarked and marched up 7 miles by land in order if possible to join him but the Enemy had got their floating Batteries laid across the River in such a manner that they could not pass in open Boats, so they were obliged to return to Camp & for the present all Communication is cut of between Brigadr Murray & the Army—150 of the Highland Regt. went down in Boats to Village St. Joachim.

There has been partys every night in ambush for the Indians Since the order was given out but has met with no success. Last Night a Voluntier & 18 Men went out with that Design 200 of the Canadians & Indians discovered them & surrounded them in a House which he defended till he got word sent into the Camp, the Genl. order'd the Picqts. to March below the Hill until they came to the House and the Light Infantry he sent through the woods on the rising ground above them, with an Intention if possible to surround & take them The Picqt on the Coming up heard a fireing they Immediately rushed to the place the Enemy ran for it and went to the very place in the wood where the Light Infantry Should have been but had not been able to get up.

They attacked the House several times that our party was in but were always repulsed there was an Indian wounded when our Picqt Came up that Cou'd not get away one of the Sergts knocked him in the Head with his piece and the Light Infantry came up and scalpt him they made a fire at our people out of the Woods. In this affair we had 8 men kill'd & wounded.

17th. This morning Lawrences Compy of Grenadrs. & 100 Marines went over to the Island of Orleans & twelve Pounders brass was carried down to the Water Side & put on Board of Boats in order to be taken to Point St. Pierre—2 of the Enemy's floating Batteries rowed out & fired a few shot in our Boats.

18th. 150 of the Highland Regiment Came down here in Boats from Point Levi at 2 in the morning they were afterwards sent to the Villages below to prevent the Canadians from getting in their Harvest.

The General order'd the Army here to their several Alarm Posts. He likewise sent to Genl. Monckton to raise another Battery 10—24 Pounders at Point St. Pierre.

19th. 2 Companies of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg came over from the Island of Orleans and was Cantoned in the Villages below the Camp of Montmorenci. The Admiral came down to this Camp in the Afternoon. Capt. Goreham Return'd with his Detachment.

20th. The Enemy from the other side are allways firing Small arms into the Camp and generally kills or wounds some of our men every day. Genl. Townshend gave them 3 Rounds of our Artillery which keep them quiet for this day—In the morning the Enemy fired from their two additional guns they had aded to the Battery nearest the Falls at our Ships but did them no hurt.

21st. Our Picqt. on the Left saw some of the Enemy go over the River opposite to their Post with a Design to cut of a Centry the day before, one of Braggs who stood Centry there was a missing—they likewise sent sheep out of the Woods in the Front of our Camp in order to decoy our people.

22nd. Detachmt. from the Highland Regimt. with three Companies of Grenadrs. of Louisbourg & 140 Light Infantry That went down this day are Canton'd in the Villages from St. Joachim to Camp at Montmorenci, they prevent the Canadians from getting in their harvest which they had begun to do.

23rd. A Six pounder & a Hoitzer was sent down to St. Joachim this morning to drive the Canadians out of some Houses they had got Possession of Close to the Woods.

The Detachment below in the Village St. Joachim and Guardian Angelles begun to set the Houses a Fire.

24th. A Flag of Truce came out from M. Voidrell that gave us an account of the Death of Capt. Aughterloney.

The 140 Light Infantry join'd the Detachment of Highlanders & Rangers—y'—was at St. Joachim Yesterday There was 150 Canadians That had possession of some houses near the Woods. The Light Infantry & Rangers made a circle round the woods and had very nigh surrounded them all 30 of them was kill'd and scalpt among the scalpt their was one of their Priest The Detachmt. march'd from St. Joachim to the Church of and Burnt all the Houses & Villages on their way. One of the Artillery (a Foreigner) was Catch'd deserting to the Enemy —An officer of the Royal Americans was wounded by the Enemy from the other side of the River Montmorenci while he was Reliev'g the Quarter Guard.

25th. Colonel Murray who Command in the Villages sees partys of Canadians & Indians about the skirts of the Woods they sometimes fire but at a great Distance, Genl. Wolfe has been so bad this two days that he has kept his bed.

26th. General Murray arrived in Camp from his Expedition up the River he brought down with him Amherst Regt. & Dallings Light Infantry leaving behind him 3rd. Battalion Royal Americans and 200 Marines Under the Command of Col. Young Adml. Holmes with the Squerrel Frigate escorted them down as far as Cape R

The Admiral Came down to the Fleet & the Frigate went up to join the other Ships.

4.—Twenty four pounders and 3 Twelve was taken from Montmorenci Camp & Sent to Point Levy. A Sergt. of Otways while the Army was at Prayers took the opportunity of crossing the Ford below the Falls & over to the Enemy our Centrys did not discover him untill he was half over There was a great many shot fired at him and Rounds of Grape from our Lower Batteries but they unfortunatety missed him.

27th. The Detachmt. of Highlanders was ordered from Angelle Guardian to Chats Riche—Their Posts was attacked at Angelle Guardian the Night before by a Party of Canadians & Indians they kill'd one of the Highlanders.

2d. Genl. Townshend & Murray left the Montmorenci Camp in the morning & went to Point Levi where Genl. Monckton accompanied them on Board the Admiral, the 3d. Brigadr. left the Adml. in the Evening & came to Point Levi.

Two of Iascells Regt. Deserted to the Enemy.

29th. There is at Point St. Pierre now finished Batteries for 39 Pieces of Cannon 12 of them are only mould all the Mortars that was employed firing at the Town from Point St. Pierre are Disabled in the Carriages, but the 4 Sea ones, that Continues firing, The Town appears to be all a ruin—At the Flanks of the Batteries there is two small Redouts and one in the Rear in order to cover them & the three Brigadiers Left Point Levi in the afternoon, and went on board the Adml. at Night G. Monckton went to Point Levi again Genl. Townshend & Murray stayed on board ship all night. One of the Royal Americans Deserted he was seen by the Qr. Guards, who fired at him but he got into the woods.

30th. General Monckton came from Point Levy on Board of Ship where he met the Adml & the other 2 Brigadrs at 12 the 2 Brigadrs. Left the Adml. & came down to Montmorenci Camp A Subr. Detachment. from each Regt. with some Rangers under the Command of Major Scott was ordered down in Sloops with 2 men of war as far as Camaruski to Burn & destroy the Country all the way up—One of our Scouting Party of Rangers fell in with an Officer and 10 Men of the Enemys that was Carrying Voudrell Letters & Orders to their out Posts down the South Side of the River St. Lawrence, for his letters he desired them always to attack the English when ever they attempt to land, if they were forced to Retreat they were to retire to the Next Post and so on to the next, and above all things not to waste the Provisions or Cattle but provide as much against the Winter as Possible. Likewise assuring them the English would leave the Country in a short time, our People kill'd 3 of that Party the rest got of these scalps was brought into Camp.

31st. A Deserter came over the ford below the falls in sight of his own People—The Adml. came on shore this morning when Genl. Wolfe the 3 Brigadrs. and he had a consultation in consequence of it, and the Former one that the Brigadrs. had, Orders was immediately given out for all the Artillery & Stores to be carried away from this Camp.

The Adml. & G. Monckton left the Montmorenci Camp all the Great Cannon & Stores went over to Point Levy this night with 150 of Durours & 100 Marines.

At 12 the Sea Horse man of war & 4 Transports went up past the Town.

Sep. 1st. All the Light Artillery (Except 1 Short 24 & 2 Hoitzers) was sent over this day to Point Levy. The Genl. intends to leave the Montmorenci Camp Tomorrow and has given orders to Genl. Townshend to form a Disposition for a Retreat. The Admiral sent some of his Sea Capts. to Consult with the Genl. about Carrying of the Troops. Orders were sent down to the Village Chateau Recher and Angelle Guardu where the Grenadrs of Louisbourg & the Detachmt. of Highlanders were posted to march up to Camp & burn & destroy the Country as they come along ; after Burning all the Houses & destroying the Country as much as possible They came to Camp in the Eveng. The Genl. gave orders for the Army to strike their Posts two hours before Day break and retire some behind the Lines in the Front & others in the Redouts, Anstruthers was to appear on the top of the hill above the place of embarking as if they were covering our Retreat then see if possible to draw the Enemy over to attack us, but it proving a wet morning soon after they were posted, the Genl. gave orders for them to pitch their Tents again.

2d. Moncktons Regt. the 3 Companies of Grenadrs. of Louisbourg & the Detachment of Highlanders were sent over to the Island of Orleans this Morning, orders were given to all the Regts, to strike their Tents after Dark and Carry them down to the Water Side when Boats was ready to Receive them & Carry them to Point Levy—The men was to Collect all the Boards and Burn them, that no fires may be seen after Midnight. The Disposition for the Retreat was the Regt. to meet at 12 o'Clock Viz. to Bragg to occupy 4 Houses on the Right. Otways & Lascelles to go into the Redouts on the Left Anstruther to make a show on the face of the Hill as if designed to Cover our Retreat. The Light Infantry to lay conceal'd in their Camp—Great silence was to be observed and not a man to show himself on any account but to lay conceal'd in their Posts to try once more if the Enemy would attack us—When the time of tyde wou'd admit our going down to the Boats then was a Signal to be made by Burning a Barn in the Front of Genl. Townshends Quarters Then Genl. Townshend was to march of from the Right with Braggs Lascelles Anstruthers & Otway was to march by Files down the Board in the rear of Anstruthers Camp That Hoitzer with Lascelles Regt., they were to be under the Command of Brigadr. Murray, Col. Howe with the Light Infantry To Cover the Retreat and to March down from his Camp on Braggs Regt. being drawn up on the Top of the Hill the Regt. was to leave Detachment in their Rear to burn the Houses.

The 24 pounder was Damaged in the Carriage was sent away.

3d The Retreat was made according to the orders of yesterday only on Genl. Townshend having orders to burn the Barnes a Signal after it was done with his Command he was obliged to wait an hour after the Houses was burnt & the Redouts evacuate as the Hoitzer & other Column was so long a marching down. Genl. Townshend with Braggs Regt. & the Light Infantry Cover'd the Retreat of the whole, all the army got down to the Boats without the Enemy appearing to attack us which they might have done with great advantage, Genl. Monckton & the Army under his Command made a movement as if they intended to land on the Beauporte side and some of the Frigates attempt to come nigher the Shore, so that the Enemy by the motions they made Expected us to attack at the Beauporte side on the River St. Charles which entirely prevented them making any attempt to disturb our Retreat, after we got into the Boats we was obliged to lay 3 hours untill the Tide made that our Boats might row up at a greater Distance from the Enemys Batteries, as went up the River they kept a Perpetual Cannonade at us all the way to Point Levy but did not touch one Boat.

The Regts. had orders to Encamp at Point St. Piere, but after they had pitched their tents, the Batteries from the Town begun to fire which came into the Encampment so they were obliged to move the Camp higher up.

4th. A Messenger arrived from Genl. Amherst by the way of the Kennebeck River he left Genl. Amherst at Crown Point and confirmed all the Intelligence that Genl. Murray had of the Prisoners he took above the Town. The Enemy moved the 2 large encampments they had next the woods and nearer the Montmorenci They pitched them mostly in the same situation as we found them on our Coming to Point Orleans with their left at the Montmorenci & their Right at the River St. Charles.

There was orders given to the Commanding Officers of Regts. only to have large Detachments Ready to March (Webbs & Moncktons was to give none) The whole to consist of about 300 men Braggs, Otway, Lascelles & Anstruthers Regts. was only to leave small partys behind to take care of their Baggage, what Little necessities the Offrs. was to Carry with them and the Soldiers Tents they were ordered to be put on Board of the Boats that was to pass the Town this Night. The 4 Regts

that come from the Montmorenci was encamp't in full view of the Enemy so that they could not move without being seen & so disadvantageous that the Regt. was nearer the Woods than the Light Infantry—Genl. Murray was to have march'd This Night with Bragg Anstruther & The Light Infantry but was countermanded, Col. Carleton is to be left to Command. at the Isle of Orleans & Col. Burton at Point Levy. 8 Field Pieces & 2 Hoitzers are order'd for this service.

Sept. 5. The Boats with the Baggage went past the Town in the night without the Enemy takeing any Notice of them. The Enemy was observed to march 2 Regular Battalions up above the Town—At 2 Genl. Murray March'd with the Regts. of Braggs Otway Lascelles Anstruther & the Light Infantry of the Army, Genl. Monckton & Townshend were ordered to march tomorrow with the rest of the Army.

Admiral Holmes went up to the Ships above the Town One of the Soldiers that was taken at the attack of the Redout made his escape from the Indians whose Prisoner he was they had another of our Grenadrs. whom they treated very well & gave them the best of every thing they had.

Sept. 6. Genl. Monckton & Townshend March'd at 2 with Amhersts Regt. 300 of Kennedys & 500 Highlanders they crossed the Etchnam River where a little above that lay our Ships wth. the troops that went up with Genl. Murray & the 3 Battns. of R. Americans that had been there before, There was boats ready to take the Detachment on Board of the Ships, which was excessively crowded. Genl. Wolfe came down about an hour after escorted by 100 Highlanders.

Sept. 7th. The Ships in the Night went up the River & Came to Anchor of Cape Rouse where a River of the same name is, There was a bay of about 3 miles in bulk & a very good place for landing but the Enemy had got at the Mouth of the River that Flankt the bay, 6 or 8 Floating Batteries and we saw great numbers of Canadians with some Regulars come down & post themselves & immediately begun to throw up a breast Work, we likewise saw their Body of Cavalry appear on the hights that had been often observ'd by our people before, Genl. Wolfe & 3 Brigadrs met on Board the Sutherland in the Forenoon, when the army here was divided in three Brigades and an order for forming a line of Battle was given out the first & last Brigade to form the first line under

G. Monckton & Murray, the 2d. Brigade to form the 2d. line under General Townshend, the Troops was likewise order'd to be in Readiness to land this night at 3 the Adml. gave orders for two of the Frigates to go into Cape Rouse Bay to Cannonade the floating Batteries & the Enemy: but the Tide was to far spent before they got up their Anchor they could not get in.

The 3 Brigadrs went up in the Hunter Man of War to reconoitre the Coast as far as Point O Tremble—Genl. Wolfe went up at the same time in his Barge. The Genls. was obliged to lay on board the Hunter till 2 in the Morning when the Tide carried them down to the Fleet Genl. Monckton & Murray are under orders to land first.

Sept. 8th. Another large transport & 4 Sloops came up past the Town & Joyned us, It continued to rain all this day The Troops was order'd to land tomorrow morning at 4 o'Clock, The Hunter Man of War & a Transport was order'd up to Point O Tramble with an intention to make a faint—Genl. Wolfe went a reconoitring down the River. It was agreed in case the Weather continued bad that a signal should be made in the night to keep the Troops on Board their Ships.

Sept. 9th. It continued raining very hard so the landing was put off the Sea Horse Man of War was order'd down half way between the Point of Levy & the Fleet above in order to keep the Communication open. The Genl. gave orders to Genl. Monckton & Murray to land in the afternoon in the South Shore wth. 150 men detached from each ship they being so crowded on board the Ships that they must have soon been sickly they landed about 7 in the evening at the Church of St. Nicholas without any opposition it continued raining all this day.

Sept. 10th. In the morning several Canoes wth. Indians rowing Close up under the North Shore they had Come from Cape Rouse, Genl. Townshend ordered a floating battery & 2 flat boats to go in and fire on them, but to keep out of musquet shot of the Banks. In our fireing the Indians left their Canoes and run a shore. From the hill above they Fired at us but did no harm.

Genl. Wolfe Monckton Townshend & Adml. Holmes wth. the Chief Engineer went down the River Reconoitring They were escorted by a party of Kennedys the Enemy fired some shot at them from a 3 Gun

Battery at St. Michael ; The Hunter & the Other Transport that went up to Point O'Tramble Came down and Joyn'd the Fleet again. The Light Infantry that was on board them went a shore, one of the men in going a Shore dropt out of the boat & was drowned.

By some intelligence the Genl. has had he has changed his mind as to the place he intended to land, Heard that we had some Deserters from the Enemy's Camp a Beauporte they came over to the Island of Orleans.

Sept. 11th. Saw from on Board of Ship the Enemy marching small Partys, to escort Carts loaded.

The Hunter Man of War went down the River to lay where the Sea Horse was, the Sea Horse was to come up and take in Troops, the Genl. Monckton & Murray to have their Troops ready to go on Board the Ship tomorrow Morning at 5.

Orders were likewise given out for the whole army to be ready to attack the Enemy they were to get into the Boats of the Fleet at 9 next night.

Sept. 12th, General Monckton & Murray with the Detachment under their Command Left St. Nicholas this morning & went on Board a Ship they had not a shot fired at them all the 3 days they were there although several of the Inhabitants were seen in the Woods, at the time Genl. Murray was up before he told them if they fired on him he would burn every House in the Parish, for which reason our Troops came off, without burning any of their Houses—A Deserter went over to the Enemy he was one of the Royal Americans he went away before orders were given out to the men.

The General gave out in orders the Day the Intelligence he had about the Division of the Enemy's Forces and the Distress they were in with his Resolution of makeing an attack on them in the Night, the Troops was to get into their Boats at Twelve.

Sepr. 13th. The Troops according to the Order of yesterday was Embarked at 2 in the morning the Tide not serving sooner, they immediately Fell down & Landed at the Place intended or rather a little below, the Tyde runing to strong, the Troops Landed & Notwithstanding the Height of the Hills, which was *emence* they gain'd the Height and drove

the French from the Post, all the first Derbarkation gained the Heights $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour before Day break and form'd themselves—

The Remaining Part of the Troops wth. Genl. Townshend landed about an hour after, at the same time the Frigate came down as fast as the Troops arrived they drew up in Line of Battle on the Rising Ground about a mile from the Town, at the same time observ'd the Enemy Marching all their Troops from the Beauporte over the River Charles,

Genl. Wolfe had given orders for the Troops that was left at Point Levy Orleans & the Batterys at Point St. Pierre shou'd march down and draw up opposite to the place intended to Land at, they were already drawn up by Day break, as the Troops landed & gain'd the Heights they were immediately drawn up in a Line of Battle Fronting the Town, Col. Howe with the Light Infantry was sent to take Possession of the 3 Gun Battery at St. Michelle which they did and drove all the small Partys that was posted on the Heights which annoyed some of our Columns that was going up the Hill, The Enemy all this time was marching their Troops over the Bridge of the River Charles, and forming before the Walls of the Town They were likewise getting out some pieces of Cannon wch. they very soon begun to fire on us, our advanced Party and theirs was scirmishing together from the time that we begun to form, when the Line was form'd, Genl. Monckton Commd. the Right, Genl. Townshend had the Command of the Left & Genl. Murray in the Center, Genl. Townshend form'd the Left wing, Facing the Hills above the River Charles a body of the Enemy was attempting to Flank us the Enemy about 9 began to advance we had got up of our Artillery about an hour before, On the Enemy advancing our people stood with the greatest firmness, Coolness & Silence their greatest push was in the Center where they were formed in very deep Columns their Grenadrs. was on their Left which stood longest & behaved better than any of their Army the Left that they attempt to break in on which Genl. Townshend with Amherst Regt. & the Light Infantry of the Army repulsed and drove them away, the Canadians & Indians appear'd in the Rear but some Detachmts. of Light Infantry kept them off indeed they were afraid of us all that some French Officers Cou'd do with the Indians they could not get them to Enter the Woods.

That was in our Rear just before the Engagement began The Genl.

ordered a Battalion of the Royal Americans to take Possession of the Heights and Secure our Landing, Webbs and Otways, was formed as a Second Line, Genl. Wolfe himself was on The Right with The Grenaders. of Louisbourg.

In the first of the Engagement he received a wound in The Hand & a few minutes after another in The Right Breast he was carried off the Field and died before they got him to the water side, about the same time Genl. Monckton was wounded in the Breast but not mortal Genl. Townshend who was on the Left knew nothing of this, untill he seen his aid de Camp to let the Genl. know that he had but one Battalion left to Guard the——

Sept. 14th. Some deserters Came in, in the night they gave us information of a Magazine in the Suburbs of the Town, The Genl. sent a Detachment to burn it but they had got away all the Powder before we got there There was an Officer sent down to take possession of their Hospital and protect the sick, The Deserters told us that most of the remaining Part of their Troops had gone into the Town, we saw in the morning that they had Cut the Bridge of the River Charles, Genl. Townshend sent a Flag of Truce in order to let Genl. Monckton & the wounded Officers go past the Town, They sent out M. Lusignan aid Major of the Regt. Langdocke it was agreed they likewise sent out two Surgeons for the use of their own Wounded, The Admiral Came Ashore, Genl. Townshend & he consulted together Artillery was immediately sent for & The Admiral was to give us Sailors from the Fleet to draw up both Artillery & Stores.

Sept. 15th. A 1000 men was ordered to cut Facines with all dispatch, this morning and 6 24 poundr. Brass 4 : 8 : 9 Hoitz 2 Mortars was brought up, they have cannonaded & thrown Shells from the Town all this night and obliged us to move our Camp, Deserters are always Coming in and last night they sent a Flag From the Town to desire that they might be granted till Tomorrow at 10 o'Clock to send out their women & Children, but the General would not admit of that, The Genl. sent the Louisbourg Grenadiers to take possession of a Pass near the Hospital in order to cut of their Communication from the Country, they likewise broke down part of the Bridge of the R. Charles, The Line of Encampment was Changed out of the Rake of the Enemys fire and redouts made all round it, one

was made that Commanded all the Plain to the R. Charles Numbers of Prisoners & Deserters are taken & Come in hourly, by Intelligence this Day they say that in the Town they are in great distress and that there is but a small number of Troops in it, The Adml. sent up Frigates at the Genls. desire to reconoitre the River above.

Sept. 16th. Genl. Murray went out with the Picquets this Forenoon to Reconoitre the Town, a place for a Battery was pitch'd upon and would have been raised this Night but the Tools that was to be brought from Point Levy for the Work, after they were put in the Boats the Sailors threw them out again. The Genl. & Brigadr. Murray with the Chief Engineer went out a Reconoitring and fix on a place to make a Battery which was begun this night and would have been almost done if the working partys had not lost their way going out.

Sept. 17th. A good Number of Artillery was got up this day. The Admirals came a Shore a Flag came out of Town this Day with Proposals of accomodation the Admiral was sent for on that but their Proposals was Rejected at the same time had Intelligence that the Day after their Defeat they sent out to M. Lowy & Boucheville to get together their army in order to attack us, M. Burne Came into Camp from the Hospital he is Commissary of it, a Relation of M. Voudrille Came in likewise and deliverd himself up to the General.

An order was sent down to a house by the Bridge of the River Charles where the Enemy had some powder they brought it of, orders was at the same time sent to a Post we Posses'd there to fire at every one that attempt to get that way out of Town

Extract from a copy of a letter signed Beauclaire "à l'isle Piquet ce 30e Aoust 1759" & endorsed "This Letter was brought to B: General Townshend on ye field of Battle—& was taken amongst Monsr. de Senezergues Papers who was Second in Command".

"Un prisonnier que les Sauvages de la Presentation amenerent avant hier de Chouaguien dit que les ennemis travaillent a force, à retablir ce fort, qu'ils ne songent point a descendre les rapides, qu'ils n'ont qu'une

quarantaine de Barges. S'il faut s'en rapporter aux dernieres nouvelles que nous avons eu de chés vous l'ennemi pense à faire sa retraite et ne comptent plus sur la jonction de ses deux armées, au moien de cela on peut regarder cette campagne comme finie et être assuré de passer son hivert en Canada—Est-ce un bien, Est-ce un mal pour nous ? "

Quebec

From a loose page of the Journal :

Monsr. de Bougainville making no attack, in ye night Brigadier Townshend proceeded to construct several Redubts behind ye Ravin—& as reinforcements were expected from——he constructed a second chain of them whose faces flanked ye intervals & commanded ye center of ye former should they be attacked.—

He then proceeded to construct batteries in ye Wood near ye Town protected by strong outposts which would have operated on ye body it ——places A Relation of Monsr. de Vaudreuil came into Camp.

N-B. At this time that Monsr. de Vaudreuil's Relation & Monsr. de —de Berne came into Camp—without passports & it was known ye Enemy were preparing to attack Brigr. Townshend gave (?) them notice if that happened they must abide by ye Consequence.

Memorandum—August 26, 1759—

General Murray returned from an unsuccessfull attempt to land his Detachment above the Town—

Mem : to mention the attack below & Genl. Murray above ye Town.

Quebec. Scarcely were these Regiments thus found but ye. Enemy came down in several Columns & with some Artillery, at ye. same instant ye. Regiments of Otway & Webb came up. The former of which ye. General form'd upon ye. Right to prevent their gaining that flank and drew up Webb's in 8 Subdivisions with large Intervals by way of second Line. It is certain both from ye. Prisoners & from a view of ye. field of Battle that all their Regular Corps were in this Action. R : Rousillon, Guyenne, Bearn, Languedoc, and La Sarre, besides 2 Battalions of their Troupes de Colonies & a considerable Body of their Canadians ; Milices de la Ville & Sauvages amounting in all to 7000 men . . . One field peice of Artillery only was got up, with which Capt.

York galled their Column. The attack of their Regulars was pretty brisk but they were received with such steadiness by ye. Regiments they attacked as cannot be too much admired for having reserved their Fire till within 30 yards ; it was regular *proved effect* & constant—they were routed in three discharges—Our Line then advanced & ye. Rout became general—I may say that each Corps seemd upon this occasion to exert itself in its peculiar character—The Graenrs. of Louisbourg rushd upon them with their Bayonetts. The Regt. of Otway at ye. same time gave them a flanking fire. These Troops were commuanded by Genl. Monkton on ye. right those which Genl. Murray Comuanded made about this time supported by Anstruthers a furious attack upon them ;—the Highlanders pursued them with ye. Broad Swords into ye. River St. Charles & totally routed them.

During this our left was attacked by ye Enemy who would fain have got our Left Flank ; but ye good Countenance which Amhersts Regt. kept. The warm fire from their ? *them* & 3 Companies of Infantry which Brigr. Murray advanced to a Hedge—[paper stops here, could not find continuation—the following on back of same sheet] on top of next page.

The General having determined to carry his operations above ye Town the Regiments having left Detachments behind for ye Security of ye Point Levi & Orleans began their march on ye 5th. & 6th. of Sept. embarking those Days on (the) board the Transports from ye South Shore 2 Leagues above ye Town.

Some movements were made with ye Troops in ye Transports on ye 8th & 9th and on ye tenth the Transports being extreamly crowed He disembarked half of the Troops on the South shore for their refreshment.

On ye 11th. they reimbark'd & on ye 12th at night, we were embarked in our Boats—

1. Description of ye landing
 2. Action
 3. position I took against Monrs. du———Ilizible.
 4. Capitulation.
-

MONCKTON TO TOWNSHEND.

Camp at Point Levy

July ye. 20th. 1759.

Dear Townshend

I send you a letter from the Genl. by which I suppose you will be inform'd of our Motions—The Adl. is here & thinks that the Grendrs. from your side that were to go to Orleans this Night, had best come here —You will therefore Order them accordingly—The Adl. will write you about the Removal of some Cannon—I move this Night—We have a Deserter this Morning from the Regt. of Languedoc—Who tells me that they have nobody on that Side—He partly affirms the affair of Carillion As he says that about fifteen Days ago—there was an acct. that we had Beat them at Carillion—But that every Body was forbid to talk of it—And that nothing from thence was made Publick since that—He says that the whole lay in their Trenches Every night And that the Canadians are Wavering what to doe—A Canadian is taken this Morning by the Highland Light Infantry—he kill'd one, before they took him. Excuse Hurry & believe me Your most Sincerely

ROBT. MONCKTON.

SAUNDERS TO TOWNSHEND

(no date)

Dear Sir

I have nothing to send up but the Seahorse and Squirrel If you intend to send Troops in them, I will have Boats to receive them by Six in the morning, had I known You meant to send Troops up, I wou'd have had small Vessels ready, but now all I have are ordered to Point Levy to take in baggage, except one I have ready for Louisburg, but if You intend to send more than the 100 mentioned in Yours, I will get Vessels ready for that purpose. The Dublins Chaplin will be with You

AP. 11—18

to morrow, but if the weather is good, I hope we shall work, and that
you will believe me Dear Sir

most faithfully Yours

CHAS. SAUNDERS.

[Endorsed]

I have wrote the Adl. an Answer

Yours

ROBT. MONCKTON.

Addressed : To
The Honble
General TOWNSHEND

Camp at Point Levi

August ye 17th. 1759—

Dear Townshend

I have only time to Acknowledge the Receipt of yours—When you
Can come over—If you will let me know—My Boat shall attend you—As
I long much to have a little talk with you—Which I have not time to
commit to paper.

Yours most sincerely

ROBT. MONCKTON

Camp at Point Levi

August ye 28th. 1759

Dear Sir

The Genl. in his Message to me desir'd that we might meet to gether,
before we waited on the Adl.—Which was the Reason of my desiring
you to come here— Pray let me know by the *Barer*.—what you intend

Yours sincerely

ROBT. MONCKTON

Honble Brigadier
Genl. Townshend

SAUNDERS TO TOWNSHEND.

Dear Sir

I think you had better send your things by Day light, if you think so, send to my Lieutt. who brings this, and he will give you a Boat.— By ten to night there will be two Boats for the Bagage of each Corps they will be directed to go to the Commanding Officer of each—You have eight flatt Bottom Boats to bring away the Marines, and Women, If your aid de Camp will be good enough to let the Serjants wife know I will take care of her I am with the greatest regard and esteem.

Dear Sir

Your most faithfull humble Servt.

CHAS. SAUNDERS

Sterling Castle

1 Sept. 1759

addressed : To

BRIGADIER GENERAL TOWNSHEND &c.,

To be forwarded imediately

Sir,

I beg leave to congratulate you on the agreable part of this day, at same time that I sincerely condole with you the loss of General Wolfe.

Your orders with regard to Scott and Goreham's detachments shall be obey'd the moment any of them arrive here, but the Admiral desires me to acquaint you that by accounts he received this day, they had only burnt Bellechasse, & that unless particular orders were sent them it would be a fortnight at least. if not three weeks before they returned.

The Admiral desired also that I woud acquaint you that a large body of the enemy were seen after the Action some time, to cross the St. Charles & take possession of their former posts about Beauport, many of them without Arms—He has ordered the Boats to assemble to night & propose to keep them alert—if he has time he says he will write to you

—Coll. Burton will give you an account of the State of this post of Estropies

I have the honor to be Sir

Your obedt. & most huml. Servant.

S. FRASER.

Point Levi Sept. 13 1759.

Endorsed : Col. Frazer Sep. 1759

Monsieur

Je suis très sensible à la Lettre que Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'Ecrire hier, et au bon traitement que Vous voules bien accorder aux officiers françois que le sort des armes fit tomber en vos mains hier matin, et à la liste que Vous proposés de m'en Envoyer, je ne m'attendois a rien moins, Monsieur, de la Generosité de vos sentimens et de ceux du General Wolfe, je les merite par la satisfaction que j'ay eu, et que j'auray toujours à en user du meme envers vos Malheurs dans toutes les occasions —Je suis aussy tres reconnoissant, Monsieur, à la bonté que vous avés d'Envoyer les soldats françois Blaisses dans la meme affaire à l'hopital general, et je consens qu'ils y soient Receus sur le pied de l'Eschange, qu'il y ait une garde Angloise, tout come une garde françoise, je donne mes ordres en consequence a M. de Ramezay. je joins icy trois lettres que trois de vos Messieurs m'avoient prié de faire passer par le premier parlementaire

J'ay l'honneur d'Etre avec beaucoup de Respect Monsieur, Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

VAUDREUIL

ce 14. 7bre 1759

addressed :) A Son Excellence

Son Excellence le General TOWNSHEND
a son Quartier General

[Written on the back of Vaudreuil's letter to Townshend of 14. Sep. 1759]

Reponse à la lettre de l'autre coté ce 15 7bre 1769.

Mr.

Je suis tres flatté de l'honneur de vos lettres, & ne merite pas les remercimens que vous me faites au sujet des officiers françois que le sort des armes a fait tomber en mes mains—ma conduite a leur egard est un devoir rendu a l'humanité.

Je suis fâché que le manque de reponse de la part de Mr. De Ramsay a un arrangement que je proposai hier a Mr. De Lusignan dont vous verrez le detail dans une lettre ecrite par mon ordre a Monsr. Le Chevr. De St. (*Mose ?*) ait retardé le retour de ce dernier à l'armée françoise & j'espere que vous approuverés la metode que je propose d'envoier les lettres de part & d'autre par la voie de l'hôpital pour ne pas retarder nos operations mutuelles.

Monsr. notre Amiral ne m'a pas encore envoyé la liste de Messrs. les prisonniers françois j'aurai l'honneur de vous la faire passer aussitot qu'elle me parviendra les marées sont cause du retard.

J'ai l'honneur &c—

Enclosed in letter from Saunders of 15 Sep. 1759.

Village St. Thomas—Sept. 14, 1759.

Sir

This comes by a Boat sent to Colo. Burton reporting my Situation chiefly relating to provisions. Since I have been on this Duty, I have taken some prisoners, who has communicated some Intelligence to a Frenchman a prisoner also, that I have had with me some time, & told me all the News he could get, in Expectation of being well used, & being acquitted in the End of the Campaign.

He informs me that about a Month since, a Frigate called the Outarde, of 40 Guns, Monsr. Salomen Commander, with some Transports, got

into the Saguenay River, opposite Isle Rouge ; That he was an Express from France, & took one of our Expresses as he came, bound up this River.

The person that gives this Intelligence goes up in the Boat ; but he has confided in the person that told me, & does not know 'tis divulged ; &, it seems, it woud hereafter be of hurt, if it shoud, to the French-man with me, who continues to be of Service in this Duty ; but inforud me he knows every part of that River Saguinay, and provided, on this Intelligence, there shoud be any occasion for a Pilot, the Ships in their way coud easily, call & take him & I presume, he would readily undertake : he tells me a 60 Guns Ship may go 20 Leas. up that River.

I am &c, &c

JOS. GORHAM

SAUNDERS TO [TOWNSHEND]

Dear Sir

Since I wrote to General Murray I have received a letter from Capt. Goreham of which the inclosed is a Copy, but from the Prisoner he sent up, I give but little credit to this report, but however for fear the[y] may have lodged any thing there to bring up here after we are gone supposing us not to succeed I have sent Admiral Durell with a small Squadron to examine that River the Prisoners here report that as soon as our Batteries are opened the Town wou'd Surrender on a Summons. I was very sorry to hear to Day you was so much out of order, I hope this will find you better, and that you will beleive me very sincerely

Dear Sir,

Your most faithfull humble Servt.

CHAS. SAUNDERS

Sterling Castle

15 Sept. 1759

SAUNDERS TO [TOWNSHEND]

Dear Sir

If You send men a Cross the River St. Charles to morrow to destroy the two small Batteries, one at the end of the Bridge of Boats, and one at the end of the Boom, and the Mortar a little above Beauport, I will on seeing them Cross send Boat to attend them The best time to go across will be about 12 at noon. I am

Dear Sir

Most faithfull

Yours

CHAS. SAUNDERS

Lowestaffe

18 Sepr. 1759

A Report of the Detachment Commanded by Major Robt. Elliott that passed the River Charles-Camp before Quebeck 20th. September 1759.

18 Sept. At Dusk of the Evening crossed the River Charles with some difficulty the water being high with the late Rains, One Man was carried down of Stream & lost, another was likewise taken off his Legs but Saved by Catching hold of a Rope tyed to a Battoo on crossing the Inhabitants were ready with their Services & all along the Road seemed to Express the utmost Satisfaction, having passed some time of the Night in marching through Swampy bad Grounds arrived at the Redoubt & after a few Scattering Shot took Possession of it the Enemy Abandoning it, found 3 peices of Cannon Spiked 2 of wh. was unspiked immediately, as also some Quantity of Small Shot, and near 100 Barrels of powder wh. was damaged as it was thrown by ye. Ennemy into the Ditch wh. was Wet.

19th. In the Morning sent out a party of 50 Men to an Encampmt. ye. Ennemy had near ye Redoubt found nothing except an Indian Squaw that was asleep in a Tent; afterwards according to order proceeded to Beauport on the March discovered Large Quantity of Amunition Guns &c in ye. Lines & redoubts which the Coast was entirely Lined with, pticulars refer to the Engineer, brought off in the flat Boats some Barrels

of Small Arms Shot & some Tools & in the Evening embarked in flat Boats & arrived at ye. Town of Quebeck.

R. ELLIOT

Major 43d. Regt.

Addressed : To

The Honble. Genl. TOWNSHEND.

Endorsed : Major Elliot's Report of his
Command on the Beauport Side.

A Bord Du porpas Transport le 16 8bre 1759—

Monsieur

Votre Excellence scait par L'estat que Mr. Bernies Luy a donné que je suis du nombre des Blessés entré à L'hospital Le 13 7bre avant La décision de L'affaire General ; je n'entre point, si je suis dans Le Cas d'etre prisonnier ou non, Ce n'est point à un particulier à discuter ce fait, des- que j'appris que Son Excellence Monsieur Le General Monckton nous Regardoit comme prisonniers. je previns notre Commissaire au Cas que Ses intentions fussent de nous faire embarquer pour L'Angleterre de Le prier de m'eviter Ce voyage ; peutetre n'a-t-il point été ecouté ; puisque les vents Contraires different notre depart, permettés, Monsieur, que j'ose m'adresser à vous, pour vous prier de demander pour moy cette Grace a Son Excellence, Ce ne sont point des Raisons d'interest pour Lesquelles je vous prie de vous interesser elles sont plus legitimes, L'attachement pour un frere Captne au meme Regt. que moy en est la Seule Cause union qui vous surprendra peuestre ; mais qui vous paroitra Naturelle des que vous sçaurez que nous sommes nes jumaux, et que depuis 17 ans nous ne nous sommes jamais separés volontairement—je n'ay demandé a Servir En Amerique que parceque son sort L'obligoit a y venir, si votre Excellence peut me faire obtenir cette Grace, je vous en auray une Eternelle obligation, je ne Rougis point de vous dire que je Redoutte cette traversée L'agitation ou je suis causee par le Regret que j'ay de le Laisser dans ce pays-cy, joint a ce que je crains la Mer me fait tout craindre pour ma Santé, depuis que je suis a Bord je n'ay peu m'accoutumer au

Biscuit et au Salé, aussy ne se passe-t-il point de jour que je n'aye la fievre, quoique je n'aye jamais été Reduit a une pareille Nourriture, je sçay qu'un prisonnier n'est point fait pour avoir Ses aizes

S'yl m'avoit été permis d'aller a terre, j'aurois été vous prier de me presenter a Monsieur le General Monkton pour me Servir d'avocat auprès de Luy, je suis persuadé qu'il ne me refusera point cette Grace a votre Consideration, vous pouvés l'assurer Monsieur, que s'il m'accordée La permission de Rejoindre mon corps, je lui donne ma parole d'honneur que je ne fairay aucun Service que mon Sort ne soit decidé par echange ou autrement, je suis avec un profond Respect; Monsieur votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LE CHIEF. DE LA PRÉFECTURE

Capitne au Regimt. de la Sarre.

JOURNAL ABRÉGÉ ⁽¹⁾
DE LA
CAMPAGNE DE 1759 EN CANADA

PAR M. M***
AIDE DE CAMP DE M. LE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

CAMPAGNE DE 1759

La crainte où l'on étoit que les Anglois ne primassent sur la frontière du Lac St Sacrement, engagea M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil à faire partir de très bonne heure M. de Bourlamaque, Brig. avec les Bataillons de la Reine, de Berry et un Corps d'environ 1900 Canadiens qui y furent rendus dans les premiers jours de May. Mr de Bourlamaque eut ordre de faire travailler dès son arrivée à la réparation des retranchemens et la perfection du Port de Carillon, place cependant qu'il avoit ordre d'évacuer et de faire sauter si l'ennemi se présentoit pour en faire le siège ; mais il étoit nécessaire d'en imposer au public.

M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil avoit aussi fait partir M. de Pouchot Capitaine au Régiment de Béarn, avec trois piquets des troupes de terre pour prendre le Commandement de Niagara et relever M. de Vassan Capitaine des troupes de la Colonie, qui y commandoit.

(1) *Ce Journal est de la même écriture que la note dictée au camp de Lovette,—écriture élégante d'une main de copiste.
L'intitulé ci-dessus est de la main de J. P. de Bougainville, l'académicien. On en peut conclure, ce semble, que le Journal est celui de l'aide-de-camp Marcel.*

Un corps de huit ou neuf cents Canadiens et de Sauvages partit aussi en même temps pour se rendre à Niagara avec ordre de marcher à la Belle Rivière pour la reprendre si l'ennemi n'y étoit pas en force. M. de Ligneris, qui l'année dernière après l'évacuation du Fort du Quesne s'étoit retiré au Fort Machault étoit destiné à prendre le Commandement de ce dernier Corps.

M. le Chevalier de la Corne, Capitaine des troupes de la Colonie partit aussi dans le même temps avec un Corps d'environ 1500 hommes de troupes de la Marine, de Canadiens et de Sauvages. Cet officier eut ordre d'aller prendre le commandement de la frontière du Lac Ontario, et de se retrancher dans les endroits qui lui furent indiqués.

Québec étoit la partie de la Colonie de laquelle on paraissait s'occuper le moins, lorsque M. de Bougainville arrivé le 14 May à Québec, et instruit du grand armement des Anglois, donna de grandes allarmes pour cette capitale. M. le Marquis de Montcalm partit ensuite pour s'y rendre et y arriva le 23.

La flotte commandée par le Capitaine Canon et les deux frégates commandées par les Srs. Vauquelin et Sauvage étoient déjà entrés dans la rade de Québec.

Le 24. on eut avis de treize vaisseaux anglois à St. Barnabé, et les signaux faits confirmèrent cette nouvelle. Conseil de guerre pour déterminer les mesures à prendre quant à la défense du fleuve, et il fut décidé que l'on armeroit en brulots plusieurs des bâtimens de la flotte de Canon, et que l'on construïroit nombre de cajeux, des chaloupes carcassières armés chacun d'un canon de 24. et nombre de bateaux armés chacun d'une pièce de 12. Il fut aussi déterminé d'échouer à l'entrée de la Rivière St Charles deux bâtimens Dunquerqueois sur lesquels on construïroit des batteries pour la deffense du fleuve dans cette partie.

Il fut écrit à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil et à M. le Chevalier de Lévis pour leur donner avis de l'approche de la flotte ennemie.

M. le Marquis de Montcalm fit partir aussi plusieurs Officiers de la Colonie avec ordre de faire évacuer les habitations le long du fleuve où l'Ennemi pouvoit facilement faire des irruptions l'Isle aux coudres et celle d'Orléans. Ce général ordonna plusieurs détachemens le long de la Côte, tant au nord qu'au sud, pour éclairer les mouvemens de l'ennemi.

Du 24. au 27, jour où l'on apprit à Québec que l'Avant garde de la flotte Angloise commandée par l'Amiral du Ruel étoit à l'Isle aux Cou-dres on s'occupa des travaux projetés, et le 29. les troupes et Canadiens partis des gouvernemens des Trois Rivières et de Montréal commencèrent à paroître. Il fut ordonné qu'elles camperoient à la rive droite de la rivière St Charles pour être à portée de fournir les travailleurs nécessaires.

Du 29. May au 8 Juin.

On ne perdoit pas un moment à mesure que notre Armée se rassembloit pour travailler avec la plus grande vitesse aux Redouttes, Batteries et Retranchemens déterminés, depuis l'embouchure de la rivière St Charles jusques à la chute des eaux de la Rivière Montmorency. On s'occupoit également de la construction des machines destinées à inquiéter l'Ennemi par le fleuve, et de mettre Québec à l'abry d'un coup de main, autant qu'il étoit possible dans les circonstances ; soit par des batteries, épaulemens, coupures, et enfin en la fermant tant bien que mal par des palissades ou autrement.

Il arrivoit successivement des vaisseaux Anglois et la flotte étoit presque toute en rivière le 9. depuis le bic jusqu'au Cap tourmente, où huit vaisseaux de guerre étoient occupés à sonder la traverse et à baliser.

Du 9. au 16.

Deux vaisseaux Anglois ont fait la traverse, cet écueil où devoit échouer toute la flotte, et que nos vaisseaux n'ont jamais passé qu'en tremblant.

Du 16 au 25.

Le 16 on fit quelques prisonniers à l'Isle d'Orléans.

Le 27. deux vaisseaux de guerre et une frégate vinrent mouiller à la vue de la Ville par la Marée du matin, et il y eut ce même jour un coup de vent de Nord Est très fort. Plusieurs coups de canon tirés des vaisseaux nous donnerent à penser qu'ils n'étoient pas sans danger.

Le même jour des troupes qui jusqu'alors avaient occupé le camp de la rive droite de la Rivière St. Charles, vinrent camper depuis l'embouchure de cette rivière jusqu'au ravin de Beauport pour être à portée de travailler avec plus de célérité aux ouvrages projetés, et de recevoir

l'Ennemi s'il vouloit tenter un débarquement dans cette partie. Jusqu'à ce jour ce camp n'avoit été occupé que par des Compagnies de Grenadiers, des piquets et des Canadiens.

M. le Marquis de Montcalm quitta le même jour 27, la ville pour venir se camper au Centre de la ligne.

Le 28, nous avons appris que la flotte Angloise avoit beaucoup souffert du coup de vent de la veille, mais que cependant leur perte se réduisoit à peu de chose.

Le même jour à 11. du soir les brulots partirent. Toute l'Armée étoit attentive à l'effet qu'ils produiroient, mais la surprise fut grande de les voir enflammés à près de deux lieues des vaisseaux ennemis. Cette opération se réduisit à nous donner et aux Ennemis un spectacle plus effrayant que dangereux. La terreur fut si grande parmi nos matelots qu'ils abandonnèrent le Commandant d'un de ces brulots et son second lorsqu'ils étoient occupés à mettre le feu à leur bâtiment. Ces deux officiers périrent enveloppés par les flammes.

Le 29 arrivée de 230. Outavouas.

Le 30. les Ennemis au nombre de 3000 hommes sont descendus à Beaumont et venus par terre à la pointe de Levy. Le peu de monde que nous avions dans cette partie avoit été surpris et obligé de se retirer avec précipitation sans avoir inquiété l'Ennemi.

On fit passer de suite dans cette partie cinq à six cents hommes, sauvages et Canadiens. Ce détachement n'eut presque aucun effet, quelques chevelures seulement, et un prisonnier. Il faut convenir qu'il eut été bien difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, d'empêcher un débarquement dans une Côte aussi étendue.

Le même jour les Ennemis prennent poste à l'Isle d'Orléans, et y établissent un Camp assez considérable.

Ordre à toutes les troupes de coucher habillées dans leurs tentes, et d'être sous les armes, chacun à son poste, une heure avant le jour. Cet ordre a été exécuté avec la dernière exactitude pendant toute la Campagne, et Mrs les Officiers en ont donné l'exemple.

Du 30 Juin au 7 Juillet.

Quelques petits partis à la guerre à la Côte du Sud, peu ou point d'effet ; les Ennemis paroissent vis à vis Québec et travaillent à des batteries contre la Place, quelques bombes jettées sur leurs travaux pour les inquiéter.

Le 8 on continua à jeter des bombes sur les retranchements et travaux des Ennemis ; de leur côté ils firent avancer des vaisseaux et des galiottes à bombes pour canonner et bombarder notre Camp de Beauport.

Le même jour au soir les Ennemis firent leur débarquement au nombre d'environ 2000 hommes à l'Ange gardien, à la rive gauche de la Rivière de Montmorency.

Les guets de cette Rivière qui jusqu'alors n'avoient été gardés que par de petits postes le furent doresnavant par un Corps d'environ 600 Canadiens d'élite aux ordres de M. de Repentiny Capitaine des troupes de la Colonie, et on fit passer dans cette partie le plus grand nombre de nos Sauvages.

Le 9. M. le Chevalier de Lévy prit poste à la gauche de la Ligne.

Le même jour un poste de Canadiens et de Sauvages passés à la rive gauche de la Rivière de Montmorency eut quelques avantages sur les partis avancés des Ennemis.

Le 12. à neuf heures du soir, un détachement de 1500 hommes tous Canadiens et sauvages à 50. près des troupes de terre seulement, aux ordres de M. Dumas Major des troupes de la Colonie s'embarqua pour passer à la côte du sud. Ce détachement n'eut aucun effet ; une terreur panique s'empara des esprits, et on revint sans avoir rien opéré.

Les batteries des Ennemis ont Commencé le même jour à 9 heures du soir à tirer bombes et canons sur la Place.

Du 12 au 14.

Les Ennemis établissent sur la crête de la rive gauche de la Rivière de Montmorency des batteries de canon et de mortiers pour incommoder notre Camp, et elles ont commencé à tirer le 14.

Du 15 au 16.

Pots à feu et Carcasses jettées sur la ville, huit maisons incendiées. Le 17 le feu prend pour la seconde fois à la ville, et est éteint dans le moment. Le même jour des Sauvages et Canadiens passés à la rive gauche de la Rivière de Montmorency surprennent les travailleurs ennemis, en tuent une quarantaine, font quelques Chevelures et prisonniers qui déposent que l'Armée ennemie étoit forte de 10000 hommes sçavoir :

Campés à la Rive droite de la Rivière de Montmorency.	5000 hommes
A l'Isle d'Orléans.....	2000 —
A la pointe de Levy ou aux batteries environ.....	3000 —

La nuit du 18 au 19. quatre vaisseaux dont un de 64 Canons, une frégate, deux transports et une vingtaine de berges ont passé sous la ville et ont été mouiller vis à vis l'anse des foulons.

Cette manœuvre hardie des Ennemis, ayant allarmé pour notre petite flotte qu'on avoit poussée jusqu'au Richelieu à 13 ou 14 lieues de Québec, engagea M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil à donner ordre aux Commandants des fregates et au Sr. Canon d'être fort sur leurs gardes et de passer même le Richelieu pour peu qu'ils eussent à craindre des mouvemens de l'Ennemi.

Le 20. les Ennemis tentèrent un débarquement au dessus de Québec pour brûler les Cajeux que nous avions dans cette partie ; mais quelques Coups de fusil tirés à propos par des Canadiens préposés pour la Construction de ces machines et pour leur garde empêcherent l'Ennemi de débarquer.

Le 21. un détachement des Ennemis débarqua à la pointe aux Trembles où ils ont enlevé des femmes et fait quelques prisonniers. Des Sauvages qui se trouvoient pour lors dans cette partie et quelques bourgeois armés les firent rembarquer très vite.

Le même jour M. Dumas fut détaché au dessus de Québec avec un Corps de troupes de la Colonie, de Canadiens et de Sauvages pour éclairer les mouvemens de l'Ennemi. On mit des postes à demeure aux anses des Mers, du Foulon, de Sillery et au Cap Rouge, et M. de Pontleroi

Ingénieur en Chef se porta à ces différents postes pour y déterminer les travaux à faire.

Le Corps de M. Dumas fut renforcé de celui des deux cents volontaires à cheval aux ordres de M. de la R. B. Capitaine de Cavalerie Aide de Camp de M. le Marquis de Montcalm.

Le 22 à onze heures du soir, les Ennemis ne cessant jour et nuit, outre leur canonnade et bombardement sur la ville, d'y jeter pots à feu et carcasses, le feu prit, et de cette incendie nombre de maisons et la Cathédrale furent mises en cendres.

Du 23 au 25.

Le feu des batteries ennemies sur les hauteurs de la rive gauche de la Rivière de Montmorency, nous obligea de faire reculer le Camp de cette partie et de faire des épaulemens le long des retranchemens qui regnoient sur les hauteurs.

Le 23. Deux cents hommes des ennemis ont fait une descente à Sillery sans effet que l'enlèvement d'une de nos chaloupes carcassières.

Quelques coups de fusils tirés à propos les ont fait rembarquer avec perte de quelques hommes.

Du 25 au 30.

La nuit du 28 au 29 on mit feu à environ 80 Cajoux. Ils furent allumés assez près des vaisseaux Anglois qui n'eurent pas beaucoup de peine à s'en garantir.

Le 31, sur les onze heures du matin deux vaisseaux Anglois sont venus s'échouer à la marée montante vis à vis la gauche de notre ligne pour canonner notre Camp et protéger l'approche de leurs barges dans cette partie.

La canonnade commença dès ce moment, tant des batteries de la hauteur que des deux bâtimens.

Cette manœuvre de la part des Ennemis n'étoit pas équivoque ; elle nous indiquoit une attaque pour ce jour là, et même le point de cette attaque. Ordre sur le champ à toutes les troupes de se porter aux retranchemens pour être à même de refluer dans les parties qui paroitraient

le plus menacées. M. le Marquis de Montcalm se plaça de sa personne à portée d'observer les mouvemens de l'Ennemi, et Monsieur le Chevalier de Lévis se chargea de disposer les troupes.

Sur les deux heures cent berges environ remplies de soldats parurent en panne et attendirent que la Marée fût assez basse pour pouvoir faire leur descente. Les troupes de la rive gauche de la Rivière de Montmorency étoient aussi en bataille en avant de leur Camp sur le bord de la greve et attendoient le moment pour s'ébranler en même temps que les troupes embarquées.

Sur les cinq heures les Ennemis s'ébranlèrent en même temps de toutes parts. La Colonne par eau se forma dès qu'elle put être débarquée, elle marcha de bonne grace quelques pas en avant ; mais le feu de notre artillerie et la difficulté de gravir la hauteur que nous occupions les obligea de ralentir leur marche. Des volontaires et quelques sauvages repandus dans des brossailles ne laissoient pas de les incommoder. Cependant les Ennemis avoient débuté par s'emparer d'une de nos redoutes que nous avions été obligés d'évacuer à cause du grand feu d'artillerie auquel elle étoit exposée, et ne pas en mettre la garde dans le cas de ne pouvoir s'en retirer. Mais l'Ennemi ne tarda pas à l'abandonner à son tour, parce qu'elle étoit protégée par le feu de nos retranchemens. Nos troupes faisoient très bonne contenance malgré le grand feu de plus de cinquante bouches de canon et mortiers auquel elles étoient exposées. Lorsque la Colonne aux ordres du Général Wolfs qui étoit venue par le bas de la Chute des eaux de la Rivière de Montmorency, et avoit resté en bataille jusqu'alors à notre vûe, et cependant presque hors de la portée de notre Canon se mit en mouvement pour rentrer dans son Camp, la colonne venue par eau se rembarqua aussi après avoir retiré ses blessés et partie de ses morts. Cette journée qui auroit pu être décisive pour la Colonie si l'Ennemi se fut engagé plus avant, finit par l'embraselement de deux vaisseaux échoués auxquels l'Ennemi mit le feu en se retirant.

Les Ennemis ont eu cette journée plus de quatre à cinq cents hommes presque tous Grenadiers tués ou blessés, suivant les dépositions des prisonniers et déserteurs faits depuis. Le lendemain on trouva 68. de leurs morts sur le champ de bataille. Nous avons eu a cette action 60 hommes tués ou blessés.

La nuit du 5 au 6 Août les Ennemis ont fait passer nombre de berges au dessus de la ville.

Le même jour M. de Bougainville, Colonel avoit été détaché au dessus de Québec pour prendre le Commandement des troupes qui étoient dans cette partie laquelle devenoit de jour en jour plus intéressante tant pour assurer nos Convois de vivres que pour éclairer les mouvemens de l'Ennemi.

Le même jour 6. nouvelles que Carillon étoit évacué, M. de Bourlamaque, d'après les ordres et instructions de M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil l'avoit fait sauter. M. de Bougainville (Sic : *erreur, pour M. de Bourlamaque*) avoit trop peu de troupes à sa disposition pour s'opposer à un Ennemi très supérieur en nombre et qui avoit déjà fait passer un corps de 3000 hommes du côté de St Fridéric pour couper la retraite à nos troupes.

M. de Bougainville (*même erreur*) avoit fait sa retraite par gradation jusqu'à St Fridéric qu'il fit évacuer et dont il fit sauter les fortifications le 27. Il en partit le même jour pour se replier à l'Isle aux noix dont les retranchemens étoient ébauchés. Cette Isle est à 5 ou 6 lieues du Fort St Jean.

La Croisiere du Lac Champlain fut désormais confiée au Sieur Loubere Enseigne de Vaisseau. Cet officier avoit à ses ordres trois Schebeks et une barque portant du Canon.

M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil avoit reçu avis quelques jours auparavant de M. Pouchot Capitaine au Régiment de Béarn Commandant à Niagara, que les Ennemis avoit fait leur débarquement et ouvert la tranchée la nuit du 3 au 4 Juillet, que le Corps de M. de Ligneris qui étoit venu pour tacher de secourir la place ayant été défait et mis entièrement en déroute ; toutes les ressources de la place étant pour lors épuisées, et les defenses entièrement ruinées ; la garnison très affoiblie, et excédée de fatigues, M. de Pouchot avoit été forcé de faire sa capitulation et la place avoit été rendue le 24 Juillet après 20 jours de tranchée ouverte. La garnison étoit sortie avec les honneurs de la guerre, armes bagages, et conduite à Chouegen où elle fut désarmée pour être menée dans la Nouvelle Angleterre et échangée à la première occasion.

M. le Chevalier de la Corne qui commandait sur la frontière du lac

Ontario étoit parti avec portion du corps qu'il avoit à ses ordres pour faire une tentative sur les Ennemis qui se retranchoient à Chouegen, ou du moins inquieter leurs travailleurs s'il ne pouvoit pas engager une action. Mais ce détachement avoit été obligé de rentrer sans avoir rien opéré que de reconnoître la position de l'Ennemi.

Toutes ces différentes nouvelles tant de Carillon, de la frontière, du Lac Ontario que de Niagara allarmaient avec raison pour le gouvernement de Montréal, et M. le Chevalier de Levis eut ordre de partir le 10 Août avec une Compagnie de volontaires de 100 hommes de troupes de terre et 306 Canadiens du Gouvernement des Trois-Rivières, pour prendre le Commandement de toute la frontière et donner les ordres relatifs à sa deffense.

La nuit du 8 au 9, les Ennemis ne discontinuèrent pas de jeter pots à feu et carcasses. Le feu prit dans trois endroits différents à la basse-ville. Il ne fut jamais possible de l'éteindre, et 144 maisons furent mises en Cendres. Enfin il n'y en eut presque point qui ne fussent endommagées.

Le 9, les Ennemis après plusieurs tentatives descendirent à la pointe aux Trembles. Mais M. de Bougainville chargé de la deffense de cette partie, arriva à temps pour les charger vigoureusement. Il les fit bientôt rembarquer. Leur perte fut peu considérable, et nous eûmes dans cette action quelques hommes blessés.

Du 10 au 18.

Les ennemis continuerent à augmenter leur marine au dessus de Québec. Ils mettent le feu aux habitations des peuplades du Nord au dessus de la Rivière de Montmorency, l'Ange gardien, St Joachim, Ste Anne etc.

Mr Wolfs, général de l'Armée ennemie avoit donné plusieurs manifestes pour engager les habitants à retourner sur leurs terres et à abandonner l'Armée avec menaces qu'à défaut de s'y conformer, il feroit brûler et saccager leurs maisons, et recoltes, et qu'il n'y auroit point de quartier pour ceux qui seroient trouvés les armes à la main. Ces menaces, ou plutôt l'inconstance des Canadiens, peu accoutumés à faire des Campagnes longues, en avoit déjà fait partir plusieurs non seulement du

gouvernement de Québec, mais même de ceux de Montréal et des Trois rivières. L'Armée diminuoit tous les jours par ces désertions, et de 15000. hommes qui en faisoient la force à l'entrée de la Campagne, elle étoit déjà réduite à 9000. et quelque cents hommes, compris le Corps de M. de Bougainville, tous les petits postes établis à demeure depuis Québec jusqu'à Jacques Cartier.

Une vingtaine d'habitants de la Paroisse de Ste Anne ayant été surpris et emmenés prisonniers par un détachement des Ennemis furent tous massacrés inhumainement, et le Curé de cette Paroisse subit le même sort dans son Eglise même. Son corps fut indignement mutilé, on lui leva la chevelure, et son Eglise fut brûlée. Quelle barbarie ! les sauvages sont moins cruels, ils ne tuent presque jamais leurs prisonniers de sang froid.

Les Ennemis au nombre d'environ 1200 hommes, après leur seconde tentative à la pointe aux trembles furent prendre poste à St Antoine. Paroisse de la cote du sud à environ sept ou huit lieues de Québec, et faisoient de là des incursions dans les campagnes pour brûler et ravager les habitations. Les Ennemis instruits par les correspondances qu'ils entretenoient dans le pays, que nous avions à Deschambeaux à douze lieues de Québec des magasins où tous les officiers des cinq bataillons de de l'Armée et plusieurs autres avoient leurs équipages, y firent une descente au nombre de mille hommes, brûlerent ces magasins sans y trouver d'opposition que celle d'une garde de vingt soldats estropiés aux ordres d'un Lieutenant du Regiment de Languedoc, qui avoit perdu un bras à l'affaire du 8 juillet 1758. Cette garde fut obligée de se retirer. M. de Bougainville dès qu'il fut averti de cette irruption, y marcha de suite avec sa Cavalerie, deux Compagnies de grenadiers qu'il avoit à ses ordres, et les troupes qu'il put rassembler. Les Ennemis se rembarquèrent à son arrivée. La Cavalerie chargea leur arrière garde, leur tua quelques hommes et fit deux prisonniers.

M. le Marquis de Montcalm qui craignoit avec raison pour notre (1) objet bien décisif pour toute l'Armée, avoit été averti du mouvement des Ennemis, s'étoit mis en marche avec les trois Compagnies de Grenadiers restantes, des piquets et une Compagnie de Cent volontaires.

(1) Sic : en blanc ; le mot "communication" est évidemment celui qu'on voulait mettre.

Ce Général en arrivant à la pointe aux Trembles avoit trouvé M. de Bougainville de retour de son expédition et s'en revint à l'Armée.

La nuit du 27 au 28, les ennemis font passer quelques bâtiments au dessus de la ville.

Le 29, ils tentent un débarquement trois lieues au dessus de Québec et sont obligés de se retirer sans avoir rien opéré.

Du 28 Août au 27 Septembre.

Les Ennemis occupés de changer leur disposition évacuèrent leur Camp de la rive gauche de la Rivière Montmorency, retiroient leur Canon de la hauteur et achevoient de brûler toutes les habitations depuis le Camp jusqu'à St. Joachim.

La gauche de l'Armée devenant tous les jours moins critique, et d'ailleurs très facile à défendre par la position avantageuse que nous occupions, M. le Marquis de Montcalm l'avoit beaucoup dégarnie et fit passer au dessus de Québec la compagnie de deux cents volontaires commandée par M. Dupont, Capitaine au Régiment de la Sarre, pour y être aux ordres de M. de Bougainville avec les trois Compagnies de Grenadiers qui étoient restés à leurs Corps.

Le 3 au matin les troupes du Camp de la rive gauche de la rivière de Montmorency qui étoient restées en bataille toute la nuit à la tête de leur camp, s'embarquèrent par division, et passèrent successivement à l'Isle d'Orléans.

Les troupes du camp de la pointe de Lévis parurent en même temps dans des berges vis à vis de leur camp pour attirer également notre attention de ce côté et favoriser la retraite de celles qui évacuoient la rive gauche de la rivière de Montmorency.

Comme cette manœuvre pouvoit n'être qu'un jeu pour tomber sur quelque partie de notre ligne si l'ennemi se fût aperçu qu'elle eut été mal gardée, M. le Marquis de Montcalm avoit fait prendre les armes une heure avant le jour à toute la ligne avec ordre de border les retranchemens, chaque corps aux endroits qui lui étoient assignés. Les troupes restèrent sous les armes jusqu'à midi que le mouvement des Ennemis fut entièrement déterminé. Leur retraite avoit été protégée par une Chaîne de

redoutes sur la hauteur de leur Camp, garnies de fortes gardes qui s'embarquèrent après que toutes les troupes furent hors de portée d'être insultées. On se contenta de canonner et de bombarder les berges tant qu'elles furent à portée de nos batteries.

Le 5 à midi, les Ennemis paroissent faire un grand mouvement de leur camp de la pointe de Levis pour monter au-dessus de Québec. Mais ce Corps qui étoit d'environ trois mille hommes comme nous l'avions pu juger, rentra à nuit tombante dans son Camp.

Le 6 quelques goelettes et batteaux passent au dessus de Québec.

Le 7. les batiments Anglois qui étoient descendus jusques vis-à-vis le Cap Rouge canonnèrent ce poste jusqu'au jour sans effet.

Il n'y eut rien d'intéressant du 7 au 11.

Le 13 une heure avant le jour on entendit plusieurs coups de canon de la part des vaisseaux ennemis au dessus de Québec, et sur l'avis que M. le Chevalier de Bernetz, Lieutenant Colonel d'Infanterie, Commandant alors par intérim dans la place en l'absence de M. de Ramzay Lieutenant de Roi qui en étoit sorti pour rétablir sa santé, reçut que les Ennemis étoient débarqués à l'anse du Foulon, une demie lieue audessus de Québec, il fit marcher de suite le plus de monde qu'il put de sa garnison et deux piquets du Régiment de Guyenne qui ne tardèrent pas à lui arriver, mais au point du jour l'ennemi étoit déjà formé sur les hauteurs de l'Anse du Foulon et s'y grossissoit continuellement. Il n'avoit trouvé aucune opposition à son débarquement et avoit culbuté la garde du poste de l'Anse du Foulon qui étoit de cent vingt hommes commandée par M. de Vergor Capitaine des troupes de la Colonie, lequel fut pris et blessé. Nous fûmes avertis du progrès des Ennemis, et M. le Marquis de Montcalm fit marcher de suite le reste du Régiment de Guyenne qui étoit campé auprès du Pont de la Rivière St Charles, et par conséquent le plus à portée de marcher à l'Ennemi. Les bataillons de la Sarre, Languedoc, Bearn, deux piquets de celui de Royal Roussillon et les Milices du Gouvernement de Québec eurent ordre de se mettre en mouvement et de suivre le Régiment de Guyenne. M. le Marquis de Montcalm marcha de sa personne à la tête de ces troupes.

Le Régiment qui étoit arrivé le premier sur le champ de bataille, s'étant joint aux troupes que M. le Chevalier de Bernetz avoit détachées

de sa garnison arrêta les progrès de l'ennemi assez longtemps pour donner à l'Armée celui d'arriver. Deux piquets du Bataillon de Royal Roussillon vinrent appuyer le bataillon de Guyenne. Ceux de la Sarre, Languedoc et Béarn arrivèrent successivement ainsi que les Milices du Gouvernement de Québec, celles des trois Rivières et cent cinquante Canadiens ou Soldats de la Colonie aux ordres de M. Le Borgne, Capitaine des troupes de la Marine. On forma de tous les Canadiens des différents Gouvernements plusieurs petits pelotons qui furent placés en avant du Corps de batailles pour incommoder l'Ennemi par leur mousqueterie. Les seules Milices du Gouvernement de Québec furent placées à la droite du Régiment de la Sarre un peu en avant du bataillon, en se prolongeant dans des brossailles, dont l'extrémité de la droite étoit très fournie.

Cependant le grand feu de mousqueterie de part et d'autre ayant donné à penser avec raison à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil que cette affaire alloit devenir sérieuse, ce gouverneur général qui étoit resté au Camp fit mettre en mouvement le reste du bataillon de Royal Roussillon qui vint former la gauche de l'ordre de bataille.

On laissa tous les postes, redoutes, et batteries du Camp de Beauport depuis le pont de la rivière St Charles jusqu'à la rive droite de la Rivière Montmorency, garnies de leurs gardes et aux ordres de M. de Poulhariés, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant le Régiment de Royal Roussillon.

Les troupes étoient disposées comme il suit : le Bataillon de la Sarre à la droite, ceux de Languedoc, Béarn, Guyenne et Royal Roussillon, qui formoit la gauche, ayant en avant de lui un peloton de Canadiens qui occupoit le... (1) d'une petite hauteur.

Les troupes de la Colonie et Milices du Gouvernement de Québec étoient en potence à la droite du Régiment de la Sarre où elles occupoient des brossailles dont ce terrain étoit rempli et avoient en avant d'elles des pelotons pour inquiéter l'Ennemi. Plusieurs pelotons de Canadiens étoient répandus de distance en distance en avant de tout le front de bataille. Deux pièces de Campagne disposées dans un chemin à la droite

(1) Sic : en blanc. Il est probable que le copiste n'aura pas pu lire l'original.

entre le bataillon de la Sarre et le gouvernement de Québec, et une à la gauche en avant du flanc de Royal Roussillon. Ces pièces furent retirées lorsqu'on voulut marcher à l'Ennemi.

M. le Marquis de Montcalm se plaça au centre avec M. le Chevalier de Montreuil Major général. M. de Sennesergues Brigadier Lieutenant Colonel du Bataillon de la Sarre eut ordre de se tenir à la droite et M. de Fontbonne Lieutenant Colonel du bataillon de Guyenne à la gauche.

L'Armée Anglaise occupoit un front un peu plus étendu que le nôtre. Elle avoit aussi quelques pièces de Canon en avant de sa ligne, et deux maisons en avant de sa gauche, lesquelles elle occupa quelque temps, mais le grand feu de nos pelotons incommodant beaucoup l'ennemi dans ces maisons, il les abandonna après y avoir mis le feu. Un lieutenant et trente hommes du Régiment de la Sarre furent alors portés en avant de notre flanc droit pour observer les mouvemens que l'Ennemi ferait par sa gauche et être averti à temps s'il eût (*un mot omis : " voulu ? "*) nous tourner par notre droite en nous masquant sa manœuvre à la faveur de la fumée des deux maisons incendiées.

Toute l'Armée paroissoit attendre avec impatience le signal pour charger l'Ennemy et le demandoit avec chaleur. Elle eût bien désiré la jonction du Corps aux ordres de M. de Bougainville pour prendre les Ennemis en queue. Ce corps étoit formé de tous les grenadiers de l'Armée de deux cents volontaires, de plusieurs piquets de troupes de terre, de troupes de la colonie, de Milices et du Corps de Cavalerie, faisant en tout plus de deux mille hommes, mais le mouvement des Ennemis avoit été si bien conduit que M. de Bougainville n'en fut averti que par la suite des postes culbutés. L'ennemi qui avoit voulu lui masquer ses mouvemens, le tenoit en échec par ses vaisseaux et nombre de berges qui faisoient mine de vouloir débarquer. Cet officier n'eut avis du vrai mouvement des Ennemis que lorsqu'il n'étoit presque et même plus en son pouvoir d'y porter remède, toutes les communications étant coupées, ainsi l'Armée n'en retira aucun secours. Cent volontaires seulement de ce corps avoient été chargés d'attaquer une maison occupée par un détachement de l'Armée Ennemie, en arrière de la Ligne. Les deux officiers qui commandoient ces cent volontaires ont été abandonnés par la plus grande partie de leur détachement, et restés seuls avec dix-huit soldats furent écharpés et pris prisonniers.

Tout cela se passoit à l'insçu de notre Armée et ce n'a été qu'après la bataille perdue que nous avons appris tous ces détails.

On s'étoit fusillé et canonné assez vivement jusqu'à neuf heures du matin que notre Armée s'ébranla pour marcher à l'Ennemi. Notre marche fut vive et légère ; nos pelotons avancés eurent à peine le temps de se retirer par les intervalles, ce qui causa un léger flottement dans la Ligne. Cependant on arriva à la demie portée de fusil de l'Ennemi. Le feu fut des plus vifs de la droite à la gauche, et l'Ennemi y répondoit également bien dans tout son front ; lorsque les troupes et Canadiens du Gouvernement de Québec ayant fait demi tour pressés par le feu de l'Ennemi qui faisoit un mouvement pour les envelopper, entraînèrent successivement la retraite de toute l'Armée, qui se fit avec bien du désordre, malgré le zèle, la bonne contenance et les propos de tous les Officiers. Rien de tout cela ne fut capable d'arrêter des fuyards qui n'écoutoient plus que les impressions d'une terreur sans égale. Enfin, le désordre fut si grand qu'il ne fut pas possible de rallier les troupes, dont les tristes débris se retirèrent, les uns jusqu'au Bout de la Rivière Saint-Charles, et les autres jusques sous la place de Québec qui n'avoit du canon que dans ses flancs et par consequent peu utile pour protéger notre retraite si l'ennemi eût profité de son avantage. M. le Marquis de Montcalm, M. de Sennezergues et M. de Fontbonne avoient été blessés et mis hors de combat dans le fort de l'action. Les deux derniers faits prisonniers et morts de leurs blessures la même journée. Le premier obligé d'entrer dans la ville pour se faire panser de ses blessures, dont il mourut le lendemain.

Après la perte du combat on ne songea qu'à rassembler autant qu'il fut possible les malheureux débris de l'Armée.

M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil fit assembler un Conseil de Guerre des principaux Officiers qui lui restoit et on détermina de laisser Québec à découvert et d'abandonner le Camp de Beauport pour se retirer derrière la rivière de Jacques Cartier, ce qui fut exécuté la nuit du 13 au 14. Mais en abandonnant cette Capitale on ne songea pas à l'approvisionnement en vivres, dont elle manquoit absolument et on ne laissa pour sa defense en troupes réglées que trois cent quarante neuf hommes, dont cinq piquets de troupe de terre de quarante hommes chacun, cent trente de celles de la marine et dix-neuf Canonniers. Le surplus de la garnison

étoit composé de matelots au nombre de Sept cent cinquante pour les batteries et le reste Milices de la Ville de Québec faisant en tout deux milles soixante hommes, (1) non compris beaucoup de commis employés et environ deux milles six cents femmes ou enfants que l'on étoit obligé de nourrir des magasins de la place.

M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil connoissant bien l'état de la place et le peu de deffenses dont elle étoit susceptible dès qu'il n'y aurait plus d'Armée pour la protéger avoit envoyé le 13 au soir des instructions à M. de Ramezay Lieutenant du Roi, lequel étoit venu reprendre le Commandement de la place le même jour, avec ordre de ne pas attendre la dernière extrémité pour faire sa Capitulation, et il en joignit même le modèle à ses instructions.

Le premier soin du Commandant fut de se faire informer des aprovisionements qui étoient dans sa place, et sur les comptes exacts qu'il s'en fit rendre par les Commis du Munitionnaire, et sur les recherches qu'il fit faire chez les particuliers, il ne se trouva dans sa place que pour cinq ou six jours de vivres, même en réduisant la ration à moitié.

Cependant les Ennemis maitres du champ de bataille s'y étoient retranchés le même jour par des redoutes de distance en distance, tant pour se mettre à l'abri d'être insultés par notre Armée que pour se couvrir des sorties de la Garnison qu'ils croyoient considérablement augmentée par la retraite de l'Armée après l'affaire.

Le lendemain 14, les Ennemis continuèrent leurs travaux et commencèrent une batterie à environ trois cents toises du corps de la place.

Le 15, M. de Ramesay qui avoit rendu compte par plusieurs lettres à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil du mauvais état de la place; par les réponses qu'il en reçut ne voyant aucune espérance de secours, assembla un Conseil de Guerre dans lequel il fut unanimement résolu de capituler aux conditions les plus honorables.

(1) Il faut observer que les Milices de la Ville de Québec sont en général très mauvaises, étant composées d'ouvriers de toutes espèces, négociants, n'allant jamais à la guerre. D'ailleurs guidés par leurs intérêts personnels. On peut juger de quel secours pouvoit être pour une ville assiégée un essaim de Combattans de cette espèce.

Le 16 au matin un détachement du Corps de Cavalerie de notre Armée étant venu battre l'estrade dans le Camp de Beauport nous donna quelques esperances de secours tant en vivres qu'en hommes, car le nombre et l'espèce de ceux dont la garnison étoit composée, ne mettoit pas à beaucoup près la place à l'abri d'insulte.

Sur l'avis que l'officier commandant ce détachement fit donner à M. de Ramezay ce dernier dépêcha un Officier de sa garnison à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil que l'on disoit campé à la pointe aux trembles à six ou sept lieues de Québec avec ordre à cet Officier d'être de retour dans la nuit, et de presser le secours dont on n'avoit que des espérances vagues ; mais cet Officier ayant appris par quelques débris épars de notre Armée qui n'étoit pas encore rassemblée que M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil s'étoit retiré derrière la Rivière de Jacques Cartier à près de douze lieues de Québec, et ne jugeant pas pouvoir être de retour la même nuit s'il poussoit jusques là, prit le parti d'écrire à ce Gouverneur Général, et lui marquer la situation critique de la place et la résolution où étoit le Commandant de capituler si le secours annoncé ne paroissoit pas dans la journée du lendemain 17. Cette lettre qui fut rendue exactement ne put faire arriver un secours que l'on attendoit avec impatience, et dont cependant on s'étoit toujours méfié malgré les assurances qu'en avoit fait donner M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Le 17 à quatre heures du soir M. de Ramzay persuadé que l'Armée étoit hors d'état de le dégager, et craignant que si l'Ennemi tentoit de l'emporter l'épée à la main, il n'y réussit par la grande étendue de terrain à garder, dont partie n'étoit fermée que par de simples palissades, et la mauvaise espece de combattants qui composaient la majeure partie de la garnison, fit entamer une négociation pour capituler ; de façon cependant à pouvoir la rompre en cas que le secours vint à paraître. Mais sur les onze heures du soir n'ayant reçu aucunes nouvelles, il donna ordre à cet Officier de finir et de régler les articles de la capitulation suivant qu'ils avoient été dressés et envoyés par M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil. Cette capitulation fut signée le 18 au matin. Elle porte en substance que la garnison composée d'environ deux mille hommes, savoir :

Troupes réglées.....	330
Canonniers	20
Matelots.....	500

sortira avec armes et bagages et deux pièces de canon pour être transportés en France, que les Miliciens faisant le surplus des deux mille hommes, mettront les armes bas et ne seront pas recherché pour avoir pris les armes ; que la Religion Romaine sera protégée, et qu'il ne sera fait aucune translation d'habitants. &c. &c.

La garnison fut embarquée le 19 sur quatre transports :

RELATION DU SIÈGE DE QUEBEC. ⁽¹⁾

Depuis que les Anglois ont commencés les hostilités en Canada on sçait les différentes dispositions qu'ils ont faits pour s'en rendre maîtres, les forces immenses qu'ils ont assemblées dans le haut du Continent pour attaquer nos établissements de ce côté et celles qu'ils préparoient à faire monter le fleuve St. Laurens pour assiéger en même tems Québec.

Nous apprimes les 17 et 19 May ders. par différents rapports des capitaines d'une petite flotte marchande partie de Bordeaux sous les convois de M. Kanon, par trois navires sortis de Rochefort sous le commandement de M. Vaucelin et par M. Sauvage capitaine d'une frégate partie de Brest, qu'une escadre angloise les suivoit dans le fleuve ; on avoit déjà été prévenu de l'entreprise que les ennemis projettoient pour le Printems par des accadiens prisonniers à la nouvelle angletierre d'où ils s'étoient sauvés.

M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil Gouverneur Général étoit alors à Montréal, ou il n'étoit occupé depuis le Printems que de tous les moyens praticables pour mettre en bon état de defenses les postes avancés Il avoit envoyé à Niagara 1500 hommes sous le commandement de M. Pouchaut Cape. au Régiment de Béarn qui a fait fortifier ce fort et il avoit fait passer des ordres à M. de Lignery Cape. de la Colonie qui commandait à la Belle Rivière de se replier à Niagara avec environ 3000 hommes qu'il devoit avoir ; Mr. *le Chevr. de la Corne* (1) autre Capitaine de la Colonie étoit aussi détaché avec 1500 hommes pour garder le dessus

(1) Cette relation, conçue dans un sens énergiquement canadien, est suivie d'une critique—qui la réfute en partie—sur une feuille détachée.

L'auteur de cette critique parle, à deux ou trois reprises, d'un officier de marine, dont il indique les plans et propositions, et qui pourrait bien être lui-même. Nous imprimons cette critique en notes.

des rapides du costé de la présentation sur le Lac du Tario M. de Bourlamaque, Brigadier d'infanterie étoit chargé de la deffense de Carillon avec 5000 hommes qui devoient être soutenus de 1200 autres qui étoient au fort Saint Jean à l'entrée du Lac Champlain aux ordres de *M. Rigault de Vaudreuil* (2) indépendamment des sauvages commandés par M. de la Corne de Chapt. M. Le Marq. de Vaudreuil ayant donc réglé toutes ses dispositions pour la partie supérieure du Canada et déterminé les opérations dont il laissoit le soin à M. de Levy Maréchal de Camps pour la deffense du Montreal adressa des ordres à M. le Marquis de Montcalm a Quebec pour accellerer tous les arrangemens qu'il avoit déjà pris depuis longtems pour s'opposer aux puissans efforts des ennemis, et il se rendit lui même dans la Capitale trois jours après.

Pendant qu'il travailloit avec M. Bigot intendant de la Colonie à la distribution des faibles ressources du pays et a assurer la subsistance dans tous les gouvernemens relativement au plan d'arrangement arrêté par cet intendant, qui de son coté s'étoit occupé du ménagement des vivres, des moiens de s'en procurer et de faire des depôts utiles et certains a tous événemens ; on ferma de pieux les endroits de la ville qui restoient ouverts, on établit de nouvelle Batteries sur le Quai du Palais et sur celui de la Construction au Cul de Sac, on plaça aussi du Canon sur le haut de la Coste qui conduit de la Basse à la haute ville, et enfin on forma une petite armée de cinq Bataillons des troupes de terre qui se trouvèrent aportée d'anviron 2000 hommes des troupes de la colonie et de milices et autres habitans Canadiens qui s'assemblèrent avec tant d'activité et de zele qu'on forma sur le champ un Corps de 11 à 12 mil hommes qui fut éably à Beauport pour sopposer à une descente et y estre en état de secourir la Ville : on se retrancha en même tems depuis le Sault de Momorency jusqu'à Québec, on établit des ponts de communication partout et on forma une troupe de Cavalerie de 150 (3) maitres dont le commandement fut donné à M. de la Rochebeaucour.

(1) *Mr le Chr. de la corne* se laissa surprendre et bâtre.

(2) *Mr de Rigault* n'est point parti de Montréal depuis plusieurs années on n'avoit point touché aux fortifications de Québec ce n'est que depuis l'arrivée de Mr de Montcalm, cette année seulement qu'on y a travaillé.

(3) Le texte primitif portait " 1500 " ; mais le second zéro est gratté. (note du copiste.)

Mr. de fiedmont (1) Cape d'artillerie donna le plan de 12 grands canots de bois, sur lequel on devoit monter un canon de 12. et on en acheva la construction avec celle de quatres chaloupes carcassières qui portoient aussy chacune un Canon de 18. outre une *batterie flottante* (2) portant 12 pièces de canons interrompus dont deux de 24 qui se manœuvroit à la voile et à la rame; on prépara une quantité de cajeux chargés d'artifices pour mettre le feu aux vaisseaux ennemis, independamment des brulots et on échoua a l'entrée de la petite rivière deux navires demastés sur lesquels on établit encore des batteries pour s'opposer a une descente. Dans la nuit du 24 au 25 de May les feux destinées a annoncer les ennemis furent allumés à la pointe de Levy et le canon de la Ville en repeta le signal. Le même jour les Srs. Aubert et de pleine, Canadiens établis à St Barnabé pour observer ce qui se passoit dans le fleuve, envoierent avertir M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil qu'ils avoient vus 14 vaisseaux Anglois tant de guerre, que de transport, cetoit en effet Lavant garde des ennemis sous le commandement de L'amiral Durel destinée à intercepter les secours que nous devions espérer de france. Sur ces nouvelles on redoubla de vigilance a Lisle d'Orléans, a Lisle aux Coudres et tout le long de cotes du sud au dessous de Québec d'ou on fit retirer les femmes, les enfans et les bestiaux dans les concessions les plus reculées et M. de Levy capitaine de la colonie chargé de ces opérations, le fut aussi d'ordonner aux habitans en état de porter les armes de se tenir prest a se rendre a Québec sitot que M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil les en feroit avertir.

Quelques jours après l'arrivée des 14 vaissaux ennemis à lisle aux Coudres fut confirmée *ils y débarquèrent* (3) des troupes et y formèrent un camp. Cette isle avoit été évacuée par les habitans et les ennemis n'y firent aucun tort a leurs possession ils s'y promenoient fort tranquillement et dans la plus grande sécurité ce qui en hardit quelques Canadiens établis à La Baye St Paul ils y passèrent, s'embusquèrent dans les bois et firent trois prisonniers parmy lesquels étoit le petit fils L'amiral

(1) *Mr de fiedmont etc.*, un officier de marine en avoit donné le projet dès le mois de janvier ainsy que des Carcassières.

(2) *Baterie flotante*, il étoit croire (*Sic*, pour "à croire") qu'une telle masse ne seroit d'aucun usage elle a couté des sommes immances.

(3) *Les Ennemis débarquèrent a l'Isle au Coude etc.* si l'officier qu'on y avoit envoyé ce fut maintenu dans cette isle qui est très boisée, il auroit fait beaucoup de mal à l'Ennemi sans beaucoup risqué, puisque 5 a 6 hommes y firent 3 prisonniers au contraire il forsa les habitans a levacué.

Burel Les Sauvages qu'on y avoit envoyé sous le Commandement de M. de Niverville n'osèrent en faire autant de peur d'être enveloppés, quelque incitation que leur fit cet officier. Les Anglois de leur côté profitoient de tous les instans, et n'en perdirent pas un pour envoyer des berges sonder et mouiller de bouës (des bouées) dans le *Canal de la traverse*, (2) ou ils firent passer tout de suite quelqu'uns de leurs vaisseaux, ce fut alors que nous apprimes qu'il arrivoit de nouveaux secours à l'ennemy, et qu'il avoit déjà rassemblé environ trente batimens de toutes espèces.

M. de Courtemanche partit pour l'isle d'Orleans avec un detachement de 600 hommes Canadiens et Sauvages, ceux-ci y avaient de leurs Camarades aux Canots d'Ecorce qui attaquèrent sept berges angloises et le feu fut fort vif de part et d'autre sans perte d'un seul homme de notre côté, nous nous emparames d'une de ces berges sur laquelle il y avoit huit Anglois qui furent conduits à Quebec et qui dirent qu'il y avoit 1500 hommes de débarquement.

Dès le lendemain M. Le Mercier Commandant de l'artillerie se transporta sur Lisle d'Orleans avec quelques pièces de Campagne du calibre de huit, dont il fit tirer a boulets rouges sur les ennemis mouillés a St François, mais son feu n'y celui dont les Anglois lui riposterent neurent pas de succès.

Du 18 au 19 juin un courrier expédié par le Sr Aubert vint annoncer que le reste de la flotte angloise composee d'environ 130 Voille étoit à St Barnabé, cette dernière division jointe a la première formait alors une flotte de 160 Bâtiments. peu de jours après les uns mouillèrent à l'Isle aux Coudres, d'autres firent tout de suite la traverse et on sceut positivement qu'il y avoit dans la flotte trois pavillon de distinction que M. Saunder la Commandoit et que le général Wolf venoit à la tête de 10000 hommes de débarquement on ne peut tirer d'autres connoissances des prisonniers et des déserteurs.

(2) Un officier de marine avoit proposé daller mouillé dans la traverse les deux frégattes du Roy, pour empecher les Ennemis de venir la sondé avec des Berges, s'il y étoit venu en force les frégattes ce seroit retiréc, sela auroit toujours aucasionné un retardement à l'Ennemy a lataque des Berges au bout de l'Isle dorlean il n'y eut que quelque coup de fusil tiré par nos sauvages, les anglois ne songerent qu'a ce sauver.

Le 27 de Juin trois Vaisseaux de guerres s'avancèrent jusqu'à la vue de Québec à six heures du matin ils y mouillèrent pour faciliter l'opération d'une frégate qui vint sonder le long de l'isle d'Orléans apres quoy ils disparurent tous les trois et le vent du nord est ayant fraichit considérablement, Laprès midy quelques batimens ennemis de transports furent jettes a la cote. Le même jour on vit au Village de Beaumont 120 ou 130 Voilles le long de l'isle d'Orléans, mais dans ce nombre il y avoit peu de vaisseaux de guerre et quelque frégattes seulement pour soutenir *la descente qui se fit a midy* (1) sur la dite Isle. Les ennemis se formèrent en bon ordre et furent camper sur les hauteurs de St Laurent au nombre de 8000 hommes selon ce qu'en a pu juger M. de Courtemanche qui fut forcé de traverser à Beaupré pour se retirer ne pouvant faire tête à telles forces avec son petit détachement.

Il étoit question de brûler cette flotte, s'il étoit possible et on lessaya pendant la nuit du 28 au 29 en envoyant sur elle six brulots qui ne firent aucun bon effet, les uns furent poussés hors du fil du courant et furent s'échouer, les autres s'enflamèrent trop tôt et brulèrent même à la vue de Quebec on y perdit dans les flammes un nommé du Bois, capitaine d'un de ces brulots et son second, un seul de ces batimens approcha la flotte dont les chaloupes armées le détournèrent, quoi qu'en feu, on y auroit supplée tout de suite par les cajeux, si le gros vent de nord est qui avoit soufflé la surveillance ne les eut jettés à la coste auprès du Sault de Momorency où ils étoient échoués.

Le 30 nous apprimes que les Ennemis avoient mis a terre a Beaumont Paroisse au dessous de la pointe de Levy, qu'ils avoient tue un homme et fait un ou deux prisonniers et que l'officier et les habitans qui étoient encore dans cette paroisse avoient été obligés de se retirer avec précipitation dans le bois ; on sçeut aussi dans la même matinée que les ennemis s'avançoient par terre a la pointe de Levy même. Ils y avoient fait mouiller 19 vaisseaux pour faciliter une autre descente qu'ils executèrent de laprès midy. alors le Sieur de Charest habitant et capitaine de Milice demanda à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil la permission de passer sur cette pointe dont il est seigneur avec quelqu'uns des habitans pour s'opposer

(1) Pourquoi n'avoir pas empêché le débarquement de l'Isle d'Orléan, on avoit la retraite assurée du côté du Nord de la dite Isle, au moins on pouvoit ce maintenir dans les bois et arceler l'ennemy.

aux opérations des Ennemis. il partit sur les deux heures après midy avec 15 hommes qui furent joints par d'autres habitants de la pointe sur laquelle les anglois avoient déjà rassemblés 1500 hommes autour de l'Eglise. *Le Sr. de Chazert* (1) *en avoit alors 60* (2) qui fusillèrent jusqu'au soir et tuèrent 40 ou 50 hommes aux anglois, sans en avoir un seul de blessé, sur les 4 heures M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil luy envoya des Sauvages qu'il ne fut pas possible de reunir a cette petite troupe. ils se dispersèrent dans les bois et firent un prisonnier qui annonça pour la nuit suivante une descente générale, ce qui détermina à ne plus envoyer de monde a la pointe de Levy et à rappeler le Sr. Charet qui rentra à Québec a dix heures du soir et laissa après lui quelques traineurs qui fusillèrent encore les ennemis toute la nuit.

Dans l'idée ou on étoit que les Anglais feroient la descente générale a Beauport et que cetoit la ou devoit se decider le sort de la Colonie, Mrs les Marquis de Vaudreuil et de Montcalm, et M. Bigot, Intendant se retirèrent dès le soir avec les principaux officiers de guerre et autres au Camp qu'on avoit formé a Beauport. Le commandement de la Ville fut laissé à M. de Ramezai, Lieutt. du Roy avec une garnison de 1500 hommes composée des troupes de milices et des équipages des navires destinés pour servir les batteries.

Le camp de Beauport fut établi a un quart de lieue au dessus du Sault de Momorency et M. de Levy, Maréchal de Camp y commandoit, le quartier-général étoit aussi a la Canardiere d'ou Mrs les Marquis de Vaudreuil et de Montcalm faisoient passer leurs ordres a tous les Postes.

Le 1er Juillet, M. de Lévy arriva à Québec ou il penetra par les bois, il avoit descendu le chemin D'arlaca un peu au dessus de la pointe de

(1) Il évident que le texte de la mémoire est une copie, où le Scribe écrit les mêmes noms différemment suivant la facilité ou la difficulté qu'il éprouve à les lire. (note du copiste).

(2) Sy avec 60 hommes le Sr Charé arrêté et forcé l'ennemy de ce refugier dans l'Eglise que nauroit il *pas fait 5 a 600* hommes. (Sic. Cette note, écrite à la hâte, est remplie de fautes et d'incorrections).

Comman peut ton simaginé qu'un Ennemy qui vien de la mer, ce determina a faire une dessante, sans avoir auparavant dressé un camp a labry d insulte pour sassurer une Retraite.

Levy, à dix heures deux fregattes s'avancèrent dans le Basin, elles y mouillèrent et se canonèrent avec des carcassières qui s'étoient approchés pour les en chasser.

On renvoya le même jour le sieur Charest à la Pointe de Levy pour s'assurer si les Anglais y avoient débarqués de l'artillerie mais il ne put approcher asses près du Camp pour le vérifier. Le 2. le même officier de milice fut encore a cette pointe a 4 heures du matin, il en revint à midy et dit que le camp des Ennemis occupoit neuf arpens de large au dessous de l'Eglise sur 12 de profondeur et qu'il n'y avoit point encore vu d'artillerie quoy qu'il s'en fut approché de très près ; on apporta le même jour un placard que le général Wolf avoit fait afficher à la porte de l'Eglise de Beaumont, il sera joint à la fin de cette relation.

Lapprès midy de cette journée il parut sur les hauteurs qui prolongent la coste de face au Chateau de Quebec un detachement ennemis d'environ 600 hommes (1) sur lequel on tira le canon de la ville, et sur les sept heures du soir cette troupe défila au camp que les Anglois avoient formées près de l'Eglise de la Pointe de Levy.

La vue de ce camp et les canons montés qu'on y découvroit deja de la coste de Beauport causa une telle sensation parmi les habitans canadiens dont la bravoure est si connue qu'ils s'amentèrent en grand nombre le 3 et furent demander à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, la permission de passer quatre ou cinq mille hommes a la coste du Sud pour attaquer le camp des Anglois, *mais cette manœuvre fut improuvée par M. le Marquis de Montcalm* (2) *qui s'étoit chargé vis à vis du Gouverneur Général de la deffense du Canada du costé de Québec.* (3)

Le 4 M. de Niverville officier de la colonie fut détaché pour aller

(1) Lennemy avoit dressé leur camp au Bord dun bois ou 50 hommes orroit sufit pour les en empeché, sept hommes dans une embuscade d un bois fourré arretèrent ces 600 hommes et en tuèrent plusieurs.

(2) Cest faux que Mr de Montcalm ait improuvé le progest danvoyé à la pointe de Levy ataqué les Ennemy, tout le camp de Beauport peut en randre témoignage.

(3) Tout ce passage est souligné sur le Manuscrit.
On avoit d'abord écrit par distraction, "le Marquis de Vaudreuil," pour "le Marquis de Montcalm." (note du copiste).

camper à Sillery a une lieues au *dessus* (Texte primitif : " au dessous.") de Quebec avec environ 200 Canadiens et Sauvages a midy les ennemis envoyèrent une chaloupe avec Pavillon Blanc porter une lettre à Mr. le Marquis de Vaudreuil par laquelle L'amiral lui demandoit des nouvelles des trois anglois pris sur Lisle aux Coudres et le prevenoit quil lui renverroit quelques femmes accadiennes prises dans le fleuve. M. Le Mercier fut chargé de porter la réponse et le lendemain les accadiennes furent renvoyés, elles rapportèrent que les ennemis avoient débarqué des mortiers à la pointe de Levy qu'ils n'avoient que 10000 hommes de débarquement, on la voioit tous les jours se promener avec assurances autour des habitations de la pointe de Levy quoy que les habitans retirés dans les bois les harcellassent continuellement et qu'ils en tuerent chaque jour quelqu'un dès qu'ils s'écartoient des détachements.

Le 6 au matin une berge vint sonder dans le chenal du nord de l'Isle d'Orléans vis à vis le camp occupée par M. de Levy qui en avoit pris le Commandement depuis qu'il étoit descendu de Montreal. Ce Général détacha quatre Canots Sauvages qui la poursuivirent jusqu'à L'isle Dorléans vis à vis le Camp occupé par M. de Levy, ou ils forcèrent 200 montagnards Ecossois après avoir perdu 10 hommes ils y laissèrent aussi deux de leurs et se rembarquèrent dans leurs Canots après avoir tué un anglois qu'ils avoient pris parce qu'ils étoient vivement presses par un gros détachement venus au secours des montagnards, *de façon deux de* des sauvages n'ayant pû se rembarquer aussitôt que les autres ils se jettèrent a la nage et se rendirent au Camp.

La Batterie flotante qu'on avoit mouillée vis à vis, tira sur les cinq heures du Soir quelques Coups de Canons sur les frégattes qui s'étoient avancées dans le bassin et qui furent soutenus du feu de vaisseaux, mais ils ne firent pas grand mal a cette Batterie de laquelle six Chaloupes Carcassières et Canots de la façon de M. fiedmont S'approchèrent pour continuer à canonner les frégattes mais ils furent vivement suivis du Canon des vaisseaux et quoy que les Anglois ont prétendus n'avoir point souffert de notre feu, les frégattes se retirèrent un peu plus du costé de L'isle Dorléans. La nuit suivante un françois prisonnier se sauva à la nage des Vaisseaux et fit à peu près le même rapport que les accadiennes à l'exception qu'il annonça que les anglois attendoient un secours de 6000 hommes, au defaut duquel ils projettoient de substituer 4000 matelots et qu'ils étoient résolus d'attaquer sous 3 jours. *Le huit les*

ennemis établisrent (établirent) des batteries (1) à la Coste du sud de face à celles du Chateau de Québec, et travaillèrent en même tems à une redoute pour se couvrir un peu au dessus, on tira des bombes et du canon sur ces travailleurs qui en paroisoient maltrahé, mais ils n'abandonnèrent point leurs travaux et dans les mêmes tems et pendant plusieurs heures les vaissx. canonèrent beaucoup le camp de M. de Levy. Les Galliottes bombardèrent aussi cette partie et sur le 4 heures du soir trente berges ou Chaloupes se portèrent sur deux vaisseaux mouillés assés pres de terre à L'ange Gardien, ce qui fit presumer que ce lieu avoit été choisi pour une descente. Les Galliottes recommencèrent à bombarder à huit heures du soir jusqu'au lendemain elles jetterent plusieurs bombes dans le camp ou il n'y eut cependant qu'un seul homme blessé très légèrement.

Le 9 M. de Levy fit lever son camp et se retira dans les retranchemens au dessous près de la Greve, l'après midy les ennemis continuèrent à bombarder pour couvrir une descente faite à l'ange gardien et plus bas. on s'étoit appercu à la pointe du jour que leurs camps avoient beaucoup diminué sur la pointe de Levy et sur Lisle D'orléans ce qui donnoit lieu de craindre qu'ils eussent fait une descente considérable à la Coste de *Beaupré*. (2) On détacha pour s'en éclaircir une centaine de Canadiens et Sauvages qui s'avancèrent au dessus du Sault de Momorency, ils y furent surpris par une avant garde des ennemis soutenu par une troupe considérable sur laquelle les sauvages firent imprudemment plusieurs décharges ils ont pretendu avoir tués 150 hommes et qu'ils n'en ont eu que 15. tués ou blessés deux Canadiens et l'interprete de ces Sauvages y périrent. Les ennemis avaient déjà placés environ 5000 hommes sur les hauteurs de l'ange gardien assés près du Sault de Momorency avec deux pièces de canon. on fit laprès midy de ce même jour transporter un mortier à Beauport, et on bombarda les vaisseaux qui furent obligé de se haller hors de portée. Le 10 les batteries de la Ville reunirent leurs feux sur les travailleurs employés à la coste de Lauzon et aux batteries enta-

(1) Pourquoi avoir laissé éably des bateries dans un endroit plein de Bois ou très peu de monde auroit sufi pour les arceller.

(2) on auroit pu empeché le débarquement de *Beaupré*, sy on y avoit éably des camp volan, la cote et très ellevée sur le bord du fluve peu de monde auroit defandu cette partie, dailleur cetoit toujours des Canadiens ou des sauvages qu'on envoyoit, tout gens qui ne savent faire la guerre que dans les bois.

mées le 8 par les anglois, on leur jetta aussi des bombes qui parurent bien dirigées et tomber parmi eux il leur deserta un homme ce jour la qui traversa à Quebec et qui raporta que le soir ou au plus tard le lendemain matin il y auroit six mortiers de quatorze pouces et huit canons de 32 livres prêts a tirer sur la ville, qu'il était descendu a Beaupré de 6000 à 6500 hommes ; qu'il ne restoit au camp de la pointe de Lévy et aux batteries dépendantes qu'environ 1000 hommes et enfin que les officiers répandoient dans l'armée qu'on n'avoit perdu que 45 hommes dans l'affaire de la veille près du Sault de Momorency, néant moiens (néanmoins) les sauvages raportèrent le lendemain 60 chevelures levées pendant cette action.

Le 11 un second prisonnier françois s'echappa de l'armée des Anglois il étoit partis depuis quinze jours de Lisle D'orléans, on apprit par les déserteurs que leur camp des hauteurs de Lange gardien se fortifioit d'hommes et de batteries. on vit toute cette journée transporter de l'artillerie a celle qui devoit battre la Ville en face on tira des bombes et des canons sur les charroys et sur les travailleurs ils deurent certainement perdre beaucoup de monde ce jour la et on a sçéât depuis par un prisonnier qu'une seule bombe avoit tué 17 hommes. Les canadiens toujours plein dardeur et inquiet de voir les progrès des travaux des ennemis firent de nouvelles représentations a M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil pour le laisser former un gros détachement avec lequel ils se proposoient de passer à la pointe de Lévy pour aller détruire les ouvrages des ennemis. M. le général qui connoît l'intrépidité de ces habitans y consentit *nonobstant les représentations qui lui venoient dailleurs et promit* (encore souligné dans le texte) de faire sortir ce detachment sous les ordres de M. Dumas major des troupes de la colonie pendant la nuit du 11 au 12. quatre sauvages sauteurs de nation pénétrèrent jusqu'au camp des ennemis à Lange gardien et y tuèrent deux hommes, mais un deux fut blessés, cela occasionna quelques mouvemens dans l'avant garde des anglois qui s'aprocha un peu de celle qu'on avoit placé sur la coste auprès du Sault de Momorency pour garder le passage sous le commandement de M. de Repentigny, capitaine des troupes de la colonie, il fit alors un feu qui les arreta leur tua 60 hommes et ne perdit que 2 canadiens ; Le 12 M. Dumas qui commandait le detachment d'estiné a passer à la pointe de Lévy, le conduisit au Cap rouge audessus de Québec pour etre a portée de traverser le soir a la Coste du sud et de surprendre les ennemis le lendemain à la pointe du jour. Ce détachement étoit composé de 150

soldats des troupes de terre commandés par M. Douglas, capitaine au Régiment de Languedoc de quelques soldats de la colonie d'environ 300 Canadiens tirés du camp de Beauport et d'une grande partie des milices de la Ville qui souffrirent (s'offrirent) de bonne volonté de façon que M. Dumas partit avec près de 1200. hommes, il en auroit eu un plus grand nombre si on avoit voulu laisser sortir tous ceux qui le demandoient instamment, il y eut même des magistrats qui s'offrirent avec empressement.

On vit ce même jour les Anglois travailler a un retranchement sur les hauteurs de la pointe de Levy, mais on ne les decouvroit que des dessus la hauteur de la citadelle detruite parce que les bois les couvroit à la Ville.

Quelques vaisseaux ayant voulu se rapprocher dans le bassin sur les quatre (" heures " omis) du soir les chaloupes carcassières furent les canonner, les vaisseaux leur ripostèrent et tout ce feu nocasionna aucun événement intéressant.

A neuf heures les Anglois demasquerent les batteries de canons et de mortiers qu'ils avoient dressés contre la ville a la coste du Sud, elles joignièrent leurs feux à celui des galiottes et pendant cette première nuit, la Ville reçut plus de deux cents bombes qui y firent des dommages considérables. *M. Dumas ramena le 13*, (1) le détachement qu'il avoit conduit a la coste du sud parce que dans l'obscurité de la nuit precedente, il y eut des méprises commises par les sentinelles avancées qui conduisirent dans de si grandes erreurs que les canadiens tirèrent trop précipitamment et setant fait découvrir, il ne peut executer son projet.

Les Anglois firent le 14 plusieurs decharges d'artillerie de leur camp de Lange gardien sur celui de M. de Levy et a cinq heures du soir ils recommencèrent le bombardement qui s'étoit ralenty depuis le 13 au

(1) Si Mr dumas ou tout autre officier antandu neut eu que des troupes réglées il auroit peu réussir quoyque cette resolucion fut un peu tardive, mais les Canadiens ce disperserent dans les bois pendant la nuit et à la pointe du jour quelques un venant a se rejoindre ils prirent pour des Ennemis ils tirèrent les uns sur les autres, prirent lepouvante et ce presipiterent du côté de la greve pour ce rambarqué, sans qu'on peut jamais les ralier. il n'aprocherent pas le camp des anglois de plus de demy lieue.

matin et il a toujours continue depuis avec une très grande vigueur jusqu'au 17 septembre.

Le même jour dans la matinée quatre Chaloupes Carcassières s'avancèrent sur des transports de troupes et d'ammunition qui partirent des vaisseaux pour le Camp de Lange gardien mais 15 berges les attaquèrent et furent obligés de se retirer, les Carcassières furent à leur tour forcés à la même manœuvre par le feu de vaisseaux et du camp.

Le 16 à midy une carcasse mit le feu dans une maison de la coste qui conduit de la basse à la haute ville et il y eut neuf maisons brûlées dans cette première incendie.

Le 17 quelques sauvages avec trois Canadiens qui s'étoient avancés près des ennemis à Lange gardien engagerent 100 Anglois dans une Embuscade en ne faisant approcher du Camp que le trois Canadiens seulement qui feignirent de fuir *de* (dès) qu'ils le virent sortir celui-ci s'engagea, et les Sauvages les voyant à portée firent une décharge complète, tuèrent plusieurs anglois et en firent trois prisonniers. M. de Lévy fut terriblement échauffé cette nuit par les bombes et les batteries établies, sur le bord du Sault de Momorency, il n'eut cependant que huit hommes tués.

Un vaisseaux de guerre avec trois navires et deux batteaux passerent le 18 pendant la nuit devant la Ville et furent mouiller à une demie lieue au dessus, ils envoyèrent ensuite mettre le feu à un brulot qui étoit encore dans l'anse du foulon et tachèrent de rompre à coups de canons les cageux qu'on avoit remarqué (remorqué ?) dans cette anse et échoués sur la grève, mais ils n'y réussirent pas. M. Dumas partit aussitôt avec 500 hommes pour s'opposer à la descente qu'il y avoit à craindre de ce côté là, on renforça ce détachement le lendemain et le sur lendemain. La plus grande partie de la Cavallerie sy porta aussi, et enfin on y rassembla environ 900 hommes. M. Dumas le partagea par pelotons depuis Québec jusqu'au Cap Rouge dans toutes les ances ou on peut débarquer.

Le 19 M. de bois hébert Capite. de la Colonie qui ramenoit 100 hommes de l'acadie rapporta qu'il y avoit encore 30 Batimens dans le fleuve et depuis ce jour, on ne put plus être informé des secours qui venoient aux ennemis, mais ils on avoués depuis que pendant le cours

de la campagne ils avoient faits entrer dans le fleuve 300 batimens dont 22 gros vaisseaux de guerre plusieurs frégattes et 4 galiottes a bombes.

Le même jour on transporta a Samos a trois quart de lieues de la ville un mortier et quelques canons de 18. on y établit des batteries qui tirèrent avant la nuit sur les vaisseaux de guerre qui étoit venus mouiller par la traverse de l'ance du foulon et on l'obligea de se haller au large.

Le 21 au point du jour les anglois descendirent 400 hommes a la pointe aux trembles a 7 lieues au dessus de Québec qui parcoururent les maisons ou ils firent prisonniers environ 200 femmes, dont la majeure partie étoit venue de Québec y chercher une retraite, ils y trouvèrent aussi quelques hommes. ils ont dit depuis que l'objet de cette descente étoit de prendre des connoissances de la situation réelle du Canada, soit par les papiers des habitans ou en interceptant quelques lettres, mais que le feu (" que " omis) quelques sauvages avoient fait sur eux les avoient déterminés a s'assurer des femmes, il les ont au surplus traité avec politesse et les renvoierent le l'endemain à Québec, dans un parlementaire. On perdit cependant deux Canadiens dans cette descente deux autres furent blessés et on ignore combien il y eut d'anglois tués, ils n ont avoués que 3 blessés dont un capitaine de grenadiers. Pendant la nuit du 22 le bombardement fut très vif, et une carcasse mit le feu dans les environs de la Cathédralle qui fut consumée avec 16 maisons particulières.

Un parlementaire apporta le 23 quelques effets appartenant aux dames prises a la pointe aux Trembles et deux frégattes tenterent a la pointe du jour de passer vis a vis la ville mais le feu des batteries les fit revirer et retourner a leur premier mouillage.

Le 25 les Vaisseaux mouillés audessus de Québec envoyerent des berges attaquer les Chaloupes Carcassières qu'on avoit placé le long de la coste de ce costé, elles en prirent deux que les équipages avoient abandonnés et les autres furent sauvés par l'intrépidité de 15 Canadiens qui les degagerent par le feu de leurs mousqueteries et tuerent 7 hommes aux anglois.

Le 26 au matin une patrouille des ennemis s'approcha du Sault de Montmorency, elle fut attaquée par M. de Repentigny a la tête de 200 hommes pendant que les Sauvages cherchoient a l'acerner, mais une

colonne entière vint au secours de cette patrouille les contourna et les enveloppa eux mêmes. Cependant M. Repentigny fit sa retraite en très bon ordres, il n'eut que 12 hommes tués ou blessés, et les Sauvages assurent que les ennemis avoient perdus plus de 140 hommes.

Le même jour le Sr. Le Gris officier de milices qui avoit été faire la decouverte du costé de la pointe de Levy rencontra un détachement de 7 anglois il en tua 4 et fit les autres prisonniers quoiqu'il fut lui-même blessé considérablement il n'eut qu'un homme tué.

Ces prisonniers apprirent que les anglois avoient pénétrés a St. henry l'une de paroisse des *conssions* de la pointe de Levy, qu'ils y avoit pris le curé de cette pointe qui sy étoit retiree 54 hommes en état de porter les armes, 64 femmes et 69 enfans qu'ils avoient tout fait passer sur un vaisseaux, après avoir enlevé une grande quantité de bestiaux.

Pendant la nuit du 27 le Sieur Courval canadien qui a donne les années dernieres des preuves de valeur et qui commandoit un des navires du convoi du Sr. Kanon, conduit 72 cageux chargé d'artifice sur la flotte ennemie, il s'acquitta en brave homme de cette commission, *mais le succès ne repondit point a son zèle* (1) quoiqu'il ne mit le feu aux cageux qu a portée de fusil du premier Vaisseaux car il n'y eut que 3 batimens de transports brulés les berges ayant adroitement accrochés et detournés les cageux et le dt. Sr. Courval vivement poursuivi par d'autres berges en se retirant ne dut son salut qu'au secours que lui porterent les chaloupes-carcassieres.

Le Sr. Charest qui avoit passé quelque jours auparavant sur la pointe de Levy en rapporta le 20 un nouveau placard que le general Wolfe avoit fait afficher *a la porte de la porte* (Sic.) de la paroisse de St. henry, *il sera rapporté avec les autres pices intéressantes a la fin de cette relation.* (Elles n'y sont pas insérées).

Il tendoit à intimider les habitans et les menacoient de calamités qu'ils n'ont que trop éprouvés depuis car jusqu'au jour ou Québec a

(1) Les cageux auroit reussy sy on avoit suivy lidée qu un officier de marine en avoit donné des le mois de janvier, il predict alors ce qui est arrivé, sy on envoyé les dits cageux tout ataché enssemble, il est faux que les cageux ait brulé des batiments de troupes ny autre ils n'en ont pas aproché.

capitulé, les ennemis se sont attachés à réunir (ruiner?) les campagnes
(*Passage rayé sur l'original.*)

des environs, ils ont chaque jour brûlés maiscns ou grange a la coste de Beanpré et dans les paroisses au dessous sur Lisle D'orleans et a la coste du sud, les ravages qu'ils ont foit dans les campagnes sont immenses : mais il est singulier qu'en portant partout le feu et la destruction ils n'ayent presque rien ménagés que les Eglises de ces campagnes.

Le 31 à dix heures du matin deux vaisseaux de guerre vinrent échouer à pleines voilles au dessous du Camp de M. de Levy ils le canonnèrent tres vivement pendant que 50 bouches à feu placées le long du Sault de Montmorency *ce saudroient* (*Sic*, pour " le foudroient ") aussi, nous n'eumes cependant que 30 hommes tues ou blessés du canon des bombes ou des perdreaux. Les ennemis vouloient à la faveur de ce feu terrible favoriser une descente nouvelle pour laquelle ils avoient une quantité de berges et de batteaux le long de leur navires. il s'en detachèrent sur les 5 heures du soir s'avancerent aux deux vaisseaux qui s'etoient echoués le matin et débarquèrent 2000 (le texte primitif portait " 20.000 " ; un zéro gratté.) hommes qui marcherent tout de suite en bataille au Camp de M. de Levy dans le même instant un autre Corps de 5000 (Texte primitif " 15.000 " ; le 1 gratté) hommes traversait a gué le sault de Momorency au bas de sa chute, le premier peloton gagna une de nos redoutes au dessus des retranchemens de M. de Levy qui faisoit des dispositions pour les arreter l'orsque *M. le Marq. de Montcalm lui ordonna de laisser les ennemis s'engager afin disoit-il d'en détruire davantage, mais les Canadiens ne purent* (passage souligné sur l'original) attendre que le premiers rangs, l'ardeur de frapper les emportat, les milices de Montreal surtout savancerent en même tems qu'ils en demandoient la permission et sous les ordres de M. de Levy chargerent cette troupe avec tant de valeur quelle se retira precipitament et battit la retraite une partie se rembarqua dans les berges et l'autre joignit le second peloton de 5000 hommes qui étoit demeuré en bataille et spectateur de l'action dans sa traverse du Sault de Momorency dou il se retira au Camp. Les équipages des vaisseaux échoués y mirent le feu et retournerent à la flotte dans leurs chaloupes.

On a sceu que les Anglais eurent ce jour la 700 hommes tué ou blessés, ils les enleverent tous à l'exception de 68 morts qui furent abandonés au pied de la redoute avec quelques blessés qu'on fit porter à

l'hôpital général parmi ces derniers il se trouva un capitaine du régiment Royal Américain qui mourut de ses blessures peu de jour après.

Le 1^{er} Août M. le Marquis de Montcalm envoya du monde visiter les carcasses des vaisseaux brûlés on y trouva l'artillerie en bon état, on en enleva une partie et des ustensiles de toutes espèces propres à travailler à des retranchements.

Le 2 il y eut une suspension d'armes de quelques heures pour demander les hardes du Capitaine de Royal Américain qui étoient prisonniers. Les Anglois en demandèrent une autre le 4 pour envoyer ces effets et le 5 il y eut une troisième pour faire passer les réponses de M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil à deux lettres qu'il avait reçues de la part de l'amiral Saunder et du général Wolf. Celle du premier étoit très polie, mais le Général des troupes s'étendoit durement en reproches sur des prétendues cruautés exercées par les Sauvages et il le pressoit vivement pour ne point employer ces Barbares disait-il dans la guerre actuelle, *beaucoup d'anglois profitèrent* (1) de ces instans pour se rendre à Québec, *et quelque françois y passèrent* aussi chez les ennemis. Il y eut pendant la nuit du 6 une alerte dans la ville à l'occasion de quelques berges que les sentinelles avoient vus défilier et cela fut confirmé vers midy par un courrier venant du Cap rouge qui rapporta qu'il y en avoit beaucoup à une lieue et demie au dessus de Québec bordant la Côte du Sud. Ce mouvement détermina à envoyer du secours aux gardes établies dans cette partie, qu'on avoit diminué depuis le retour de M. Dumas qui fut remplacé par M. de *Bougainville*. (2) On fut informé le 7 que les vaisseaux qui avoient passés devant la ville étoient montés avec plusieurs berges jusque vis à vis l'Eglise de la pointe aux trembles.

Le 8 les berges tentèrent une descente sur cette pointe d'où M. de Bougainville les repoussa vivement, il y eut dix hommes tués ou blessés de sa troupe et on ne peut savoir ce que les Ennemis y perdirent. Le

(1) Aucun anglois n'a jamais approché de la ville pendant tout le siège et toujours des Canadiens et des sauvages pourquoy pas envoyer des troupes de terre.

(2) Le nom de Bougainville, écrit constamment " Bourquinville ", a été partout corrigé en surcharge de la main de Bougainville même, qui a dû souligner aussi les passages de ce mémoire qui ont attiré son attention

9 a deux heures après minuit les bombes et les carcasses embrasèrent la basse ville. Elle fut réduite en cendres en moins de quatre heures à l'exception de 14 ou 15 maisons. il est facile d'imaginer qu'une telle incendie a entraîné des pertes immenses et ruinées un grand nombre de famille et de négocians français auxquels on ne peut refuser la justice due à leur zèle pour la défense du Pays. car des les premiers instants ou les ennemis on parus, ils n'ont absolument songé qu'à se rendre utiles et se sont empressés de partager avec les colons les travaux et le service.

Le 11 on détacha des troupes Canadiennes et des Sauvages pour aller au haut du Sault de Momorency inquiéter un détachement armé qui y faisoit des fascines depuis plusieurs jours il s'y engagea une action qui dura cinq heures dans laquelle on a estimée la perte des Ennemis a 150 hommes.

Ce fut dans ce tems qu'on apprit la prise du fort Niagara qui donna des inquiétudes à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil pour le Montréal et les postes d'en haut, il y envoya sur le champ M. de Levy avec 1200 hommes qu'on prit au camp de Beauport et M. Le Mercier le suivit (1) pour faire établir aux rapides les batteries que cet officier général jugeoit nécessaire.

A dix heures du soir cinq batimens voulurent passer devant la ville par un bon frais de vent du nord une seule Goelette y reussit et le feu de nos batteries força les autres de se retirer.

Le 15 le feu prit encore dans la haute ville mais il n'y eut que 2 maisons brûlées.

On s'aperçut le même jour et les suivans que les ennemis retiroient peu a peu le canon de leurs batteries du Sault de Momorency et que celles de la pointe de Lévy augmentoient d'autant, on y compta enfin 12 mortiers (2) et 25 pièces de canons de 24 et de 32 l. de balles.

(1) M. lemercier suivit M. de Levy pour sauver les efets qui étoit au Montreal a diferentes personnes ; Sy Lennemy en aprochoit, il na plus paru au camp ny a la ville. (Il est probable que la ponctuation est fautive, et que le point et virgule doit être placé après "approchait.")

(2) Il n'y a jamais eu que 6 mortiers demonté à la Bateria devant la ville, pour du canon il est vray qu'il y a eu 25 embrassure de faite mais il n'y a jamais eu que 16 canon monté.

Le 19 on fut informé d'une nouvelle descente à la paroisse de Deschambeau a 10 ou 12 lieues audessus de Quebec et qu'aussitôt que M. de Bougainville l'avoit sçû, il étoit parti pour aller à la rencontre des ennemis. *M. le Marquis de Montcalm partit aussi avec* (souligné sur l'original) M. le Marquis de Montreuil pour examiner par lui même leurs manœuvres, mais il apprit dans sa route que les Anglois s'étoient rembarqués après avoir brulés les établissement et particulièrement une maison dont on avoit formé le depot des equipages des officier des bataillons. (1) *Cet officier général fut de retour le lendemain matin a son camp de Beauport.* (Souligné dans le texte original.)

Le 21 les mêmes berges au nombre de 15 se présentèrent encore pour faire une descente a deschambeaux, mais elles nosèrent approcher la terre et traversèrent a la coste du sud, un deserteur deposa le 27 que les Vaisseaux devoient bientôt venir s'emboquer devant la Ville et qu'on feroit sous peu de jours une attaque generale plusieurs de ces *transsuges* (Sic, pour "transfuges") avoient déjà annoncés de telles dispositions.

Le même jour a neuf heures du soir, trois frégattes, cinq navires et deux batteaux passerent devant la Ville sans avoir recens de grand dommages de nos batteries qui se trouvèrent alors mal armées parce qu'il avoit fallu en tirer 400 matelots pour une expédition concertée depuis quelques jours et que les événemens ne permirent pas d'exécuter.

On apprit le 29 que tous les batimens de mer étoient réunis près de St Augustin a 3 ou 4 lieues au dessus de la ville et on ne douta plus qu'on y eut projeté une descente, en effet 40 berges se présentèrent a dix heures du soir pour l'exécuter. Elles mirent du monde à terre que M. de Bougainville obligea de se rembarquer sur le champ, il ne perdit personne et comme il étoit nuit on ne peut connoître la perte des ennemis.

Le 30 à dix heures du soir une frégatte de 18 canons cinq navires et plusieurs autres petits batimens de transport defilerent encore devant la ville, on tira dessus sans pouvoir voir le mal qu'on leur faisoit mais on a pretendu avoir trouvé en dérive sur les gresves des effets qui laissèrent croire qu'on *envoie* ("en "avoit") coulé quelqu'un a fure et a mesure

(1) Les anglais n'ont brulé qu'une *mais* a deschambault et deux granges, Mr de Montcal était de retour à 8 heures du soir.

que les forces des ennemis se rassemblaient devant et au dessus de Quebec on envoya des secours a M. de Bougainville qui se trouva a la tette de 2000 hommes choisis dont cinq compagnies de Grenadiers.

On apprit pendant tous ces mouvemens que M. de Porneuf, curé de St. Joachim et neuf de ses paroissiens avoient été pris ceux-cy avoient les armes à la main et furent maltraités mais le pauvre curé que les Anglois soupçonnèrent sans doute d'animer cette poignée de monde, le fut plus cruellement, puisque de sang froid ils luy firent couper le col au milieu de ses misérables habitans.

Le premier septembre il rassembla à Sillery seize batimens de ceux qui avoient montés au dessus de Québec, et les ennemis faisoient passer de ce costé les forces qu'ils tiroient du Camp de Lange gardien. On s'appercut le 2 qu'ils avoient enlevés 17 pièces de canons de camp, qu'ils evacuerent entierement le 3 pour se porter sur la pointe de Levy ils y camperent vis à vis de la Ville dou on raprocha aussi le camp de Beauport

Le 5 les Anglois levèrent encore leur dernier camp de la pointe de Levy, marcherent en colonne au nombre de 5000 hommes vers le haut du fleuve, ce qui indiquait une descente générale au dessus de Québec d'autant qu'ils avoient passé 30 Berges pendant la nuit qui furent joindre les Batimens mouillé à Sillery.

Le 6 une Gabarre de 15 a 20 tonneaux passa encore en cotoyant, et quoiqu'on fit sur elle un très grand feu elle ne recut de dommages que dans ses voilles.

On n'eut pas plus de succes le 8 a la pointe du jour vis a vis un surnault, et quatre autres petit batimens qui rejoignirent les premiers enfin les ennemis, rassemblèrent une flotte de 23 batimens au dessus de la ville, avec une grande quantité de berges, dont ils tenoient une partie à St Augustin et ils ne parurent occupés depuis ce jour jusqu'au 13 suivant, que de preparatif pour une descente on voyoit leurs berges tantost pleines de troupes, tantot vuides ils se portoient de differens Costés successivement pour fatiguer et tromper les troupes qui les observoient.

Pendant la nuit du 12 au 13 *la plus grande partie des bâtiment vint mouiller* (1) vis a vis les ances du foulon et celle de meres. Les dispo-

(1) Il ne veint aucun batiment mouillé à l'ance au foulon que le 13 à 5 et 6 heures du matin, il n'y eut que les berges qui dessandirent la

sitions pour la descente sy firent sans qu'on en eût de connoissance, quoi qu'il y eut des canots d'observations sur cette cote et malheureusement la garde de la première anse n'estoit que de 60 hommes et celle de la seconde de 30. (Souligné sur l'original).

Le 13 un peu avant la pointe du jour la descente se fit dans ces deux ances et la resistance que les ennemis y trouvèrent ne pût être que très foibles de la part de nos détachements M. de Vergor Capitaine de la Colonie qui commandoit celui du foulon fut le premier blessé dangereusement enveloppé et pris mais le second détachement se replia sur les hauteurs, et l'officier qui le commandoit fut aussy blessé (Souligné sur l'original) on envoya sur le champ de la Ville quelques milices pour le soutenir, elles arriverent lorsque les ennemis prenoient terre, un grand nombre de leurs troupes avoient déjà montes les costés et marchoit en bon ordre du costé de la Ville, le reste débarquoit et défiloit malgré tous les efforts que faisoient les Canadiens pour les empêcher de se rallier ; ils ne purent les arreter par le feu continuel qu'ils firent, ny s'opposer à leur marche jusqu'à un quart de lieue environ de Québec parce qu'il ne fut pas possible de tirer du secours assez prompt du Camp de Beauport, M. le Marquis de Montcalm ne fut en état de faire défiler ses troupes qu'à six heures et il en étoit huit au moins lorsqu'elles se presenterent vis à vis des ennemis. il n'avoit à ses ordres que cinq Bataillons de troupes de France, quelques Compagnies de la Colonie et une partie des milices qui formoient un Corps de 3000 hommes à presenter à 5000 anglois qui étoient déjà en bataille on tira les uns sur les autres assez vivement jusqu'à dix heures et demie, et il y eut beaucoup de monde tué ou blessé de part et d'autre pendant ces petites attaques. alors M. le Marquis de Montcalm se livra tout entier à son ardeur (1) croyant pouvoir vaincre tout seul, et engagé malheureuse-

ment à cette anse, et toute la flotte resta mouillée jusqu'au jour vis à vis St. Augustin, où étoit M. de Bougainville, pour luy en imposer, il n'y avoit que 60 hommes en tout aux deux ances où la descente se fit à 2 heures du matin, avant 4 heures du matin Mrs de Vaudreuil et de Montcalm étoient avertis que l'ennemy avoit descendu à terre des mères, et Mr de Vaudreuil avança Mr de Montcalm puisqu'il étoit plus proche et que d'ailleurs toutes les ordonnances luy étoient adressées, et dont il faisoit passer des ordres où il étoit nécessaire. on prit cette descente pour une fausse attaque c'est ce qui occasionna le retardement de la marche des troupes

(1) Tout le monde murmuroit de ce que Mr de Montcalm n'attaquoit pas l'ennemi avant qu'il fut plus en force, et icy on se plaint qu'il a donné trop tôt, il faut bien dire quelque chose.

ment une action générale. (Souligné sur l'original). La première décharge le mit hors de combat, plusieurs officiers principaux furent blessés, et le découragement se manifesta de façon que la gauche des troupes ploya et quelque vigueur que fit la droite ou étoient les Canadiens, le tout suivis, une partie se retira sous les murs de la Ville et le reste au Camp de beauport. Ce fut alors que M. de Ramezay fit demander du secours pour sa défense à M. le Chevalier de Montreuil Major General qui fit entrer à Québec cinq piquets des régimens d'environ 30 hommes chacun. *on avoit ramené en Ville M. le Marquis de Montcalm, qui ne mourut que le lendemain à la pointe du jour de ses bleesures et parmi les nombres des officiers qu'on perdit dans cette malheureuse action on a eu beaucoup à regretter Mrs. de Sennezergue et son bonne, Lieutenant-Colonels il na pas été praticable de savoir exactement* (souligné sur l'original) ce que cette matinée a coûtée, mais on fait monter la perte des françois à 1200 hommes tués blessés ou prisonniers et celle des anglois de 1000 à 1100 hommes avec leur général Wolf qui y fut tué et le Général Molekton (Sic, pour "Monckton") blessé dangereusement.

On doit croire que cette affaire eût un succès favorable sy M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil eût été averti assés à temps pour secourir l'Armée de M. de Montcalm et si ce dernier général eut envoyé plutôt chercher M. de Bougainville qui étoit au cap Rouge avec plus de 2000 hommes choisis dont les cinq compagnies de grenadiers des mêmes corps qui étoient restée avec lui, car il est certain que quelque diligence qu'aye pu faire M. de Bougainville il ne put se rendre qu'à une Lieue et demie de la Ville (1) L'après midy il trouva les ennemis maître de la campagne occupée à se retrancher, (souligné sur l'original) ce que M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil apprit aussi presque aussitôt que la descente: il assembla sur le camp (Sic, pour "sur le champ") le Conseil de guerre fit lever le camp de beauport (2) et fit les dispositions nécessaires pour faire défiler dans la nuit les troupes à la pointe aux trembles et à Jacques Cartier à dix lieues au dessus de la Ville, on étoit tout préparé pour l'établissement du camp général en cas d'événement malheureux M. de Bougainville eût ordre de faire également sa retraite à St Augustin, et on établis des gardes avancés sur les chemin de Ste foy et de Lorette.

(1) Il n'y a point de ponctuation après "Ville". Ce qui semble bien dire que Bougainville, suivant cette version canadienne, n'arriva sur le terrain que l'après-midi. (note du copiste)

(2) Le Camp de Beauport a resté tandu, sans en avoir éleyé (Sic, pour

assiégés par rapport à l'impossibilité d'estre puissamment secourus, et de soutenir sans subsistances et sans deffenses contre des forces superieurs astrista les Esprits, mais ne les decourageat pas encore tout a fait. M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil a qui rien n'echappe de tout ce qui vient necessaire au service du Roy, et au peuple qu'il gouverne avec les entrailles d'un bon père jugeant de la situation facheuse de Québec, adressa *vant* (*Sic*, pour "avant") de partir une instruction ample à M. de Ramesay (*Sic*) sa conduite pendant le reste du Siege avec un projet de l'honorable capitulation qu'il devoit demander dans un cas forcé de soutenir un assaut, ou de rendre la place par quelque'autre motif pressant

Pendant toutes ces opérations les anglois se fortifioient du costé de la campagne et y avancoient, ils s'anparent de l'hospital général le 15 à la pointe du jour, et y maintinrent l'ordre qu'ils y trouverent établie et ils y posèrent une garde, mais on continua d'y faire transporter de la Ville les malades et les blessés.

M. de Ramesay fit faire le même jour une revue Générale des troupes et milices qui lui restoit dans la Ville, et des Matelots distribués sur les batteries, il trouva en tout 2200 hommes dont 330 seulement des troupes réglées tant des régimens que de la colonie.

Le 15 les batteries de la Ville firent un feu violent sur les travaux des Ennemis qui avançaient beaucoup surtout du costé de la butte à Neuveu qui domine Québec et la campagne on fit un recensement general de vivres, qui ne produisit que dix huit quarts de farine 23 Bœufs ou Vaches et quelques autres denrées dans une aussi médiocre quantité. il fallait cependant faire vivres 2200 combattants, près de 2600 femmes ou enfans, et plus de 1200 malades ou blessés. Les premiers étoient déjà réduite à un quarteron de pain, et les autres à un quarteron de légumes ou bled d'inde, ce qui fit presumer qu'on ne pourroit soutenir longtems, même si la ville eut été bien fortifiée, d'ailleurs les habitans excédés de

"enlevé") une seule tante non plus que des vivres et munitions, les anglois ont crû pendant trois jours que notre armée étoit toujours à Beauport. M. de Bongainville depuis lafais du 13 a toujours resté à Lorette vérifié les lettres et la Capitulation.

Du nombre de 2200 combatans qui étoit dans la ville il en déserta près d'un tiers en deux jours faute de vivres.

Le spectacle de l'action la levée des camps et surtout la position des

fatigues s'assemblerent, et firent par écrit de justes représentations à M. de Ramesay et aux Officiers Majors sur leur situation qui étoit en effet aussi critique que facheuse comme ils l'ont exposés *dans leur requête rapportée à la fin de cette relation*. (1) Cependant l'Espérance qu'on avoit encore qu'il pourroit entrer quelque secours dans la Ville vû que les assiegeant serroient attaqués, il fit faire de nouveaux efforts contre eux jusqu'au 17 mais ce jour et la veille il déserta plus de 900 hommes miliciens qui se refugierent dans les Campagnes on perdit toutes les espérances d'être secourus, les ennemis faisoient des préparatifs qui annonçerent un assaut prochain en avançant sous les murs de la Ville, et elle étoit battue par trente pièces de canons de 32 L. de balles, elle se trouvoit enfin à l'instant d'être enlevées de vive force, lorsque M. de Ramesay assembla le conseil de guerre auquel il produisit les instructions de M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, la requête des habitans et après avoir murement examiné avec lui la situation de la place à tous égards, et la manœuvre des vaisseaux de guerre qui travailloient à venir s'emboîser vis à vis la Ville, il arbora le drapeau blanc et fit proposer les articles de la capitulation ils furent acceptés avec quelques réserves, comme elles sont énoncées dans la copie qui accompagne les autres pièces, et M. de Joannes, capitaine du Regiment de Languedoc la raporta à huit heure du soir pour communiquer à M. de Ramesay. Ces réserves il les ratifia ne voyant plus aucune apparence d'être secouru, et la capitulation fut signée de part et d'autre. Le lendemain matin 18 les Anglois firent entrer des troupes dans la Ville dès l'après midy, ils furent surpris de la trouver presque totalement détruite, et les pauvres habitans qui n'avoient plus de subsistances cherchèrent vainement des secours chez le vainqueur qui ne voulut en vendre qu'une très petite quantité au Procureur du Roy qui en demanda à acheter pour ce peuple, il en refusa également au commissaire des guerres attaché à l'hôpital des blessés, ce qui est constaté par le certificat du Sieur Perthuis procureur du Roy, et par la lettre de M. Bernier commissaire à M. de Ramesay qui sont jointes aux autres pièces citées dans cette relation.

Le 20 les troupes et les matelots qu'on avoit gardés dans la ville, car on en fit passer le plus qu'il fut possible au camp de M. de Vaudreuil pendant qu'on travailloit de la capitulation furent embarqués sur 4 vais-

(1) Elle n'y est point, non plus

seaux de transports d'estinées a le porter en france et M. de Ramesay avec les officiers passerent sur ces mêmes vaisseaux le 23.

La prise de cette Ville et la destruction des Villages et établissement qui en dependent n'entraiment pas la perte du Canada, puisqu'on est toujours maitres de la partie supérieure et que les Anglois ne peuvent pas y être considerées en forces dans une mauvaise enceinte pendant l'hiver il y a même lieu de se flatter que M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil usera de tous les moiens qu'il a de les resserer, de les inquieter, et de les attaquer secondé dans ses projets par M. de Levy qui a acquis la confiance et l'amitié des troupes et des canadiens, on a tout a esperer de l'expérience de ces Generaux, et M. Bigot intendant a pris de si justes mesures pour assurer la récolte et pour rassembler des grains des quartiers les plus éloignés que la subsistance général doit etre approvisionnée jusqu'au mois d'avril, mais alors il est indispensable de faire passer des secours de toutes espèces dans cette colonie.

EXTRAIT
DES
REGISTRES TENUS AU BUREAU DU CONTROLE
DE LA MARINE

MARCHÉ POUR LA FOURNITURE GÉNÉRALE DES VIVRES AU
CANADA

Aujourd'hui, vingt-six octobre mil-sept-cent-cinquante-six, nous, François Bigot, conseiller du Roi en ses conseils, Intendant de justice, police, finances et de la marine en la Nouvelle France, présence de M. Martel, écrivain principal de la marine, faisant les fonctions de contrôleur en Canada, avons fait marché avec le Sr Joseph Cadet pour la fourniture des vivres et rafraichissements nécessaires pour le service du Roi, tant dans les villes de Québec, Trois-Rivières, et Montréal, dans les campagnes où il y aura des troupes en quartier à la Chine, que dans les postes du fort Frontenac, la Présentation, Saint-Regis, Niagara, petit fort du portage de Niagara, Toronto, Saint-Jean, Saint-Frédéric, Chambly, Carillon, de la presqu'île Rivière-au-Bœuf, Rivière Oyo, Miramichy et Gaspé, sous les conditions ci-après y énoncées.

Savoir :

ARTICLE 1er.

La dite fourniture sera donnée au sieur Cadet, pour l'espace de neuf années, à commencer des jours marqués ci-après auxquels il commencera à fournir dans les villes, dans les postes, dans les campagnes et à la Chine.

ART. 2.

La sortie des vivres de Canada sera défendue par Mrs le Gouverneur général et Intendant, jusqu'à ce que le dit fournisseur se voye pourvu pour deux années d'avance, en lard, pois et farine, tant par ceux qu'il fera venir de France, que par ceux que le pays lui fournira.

ART. 3.

Le Roi donnera en France, aux correspondants du dit fournisseur, la protection nécessaire pour leur faire trouver des matelots, afin de pouvoir faire partir de France, à la fin de février, le comestible qu'il demandera, la colonie ne pouvant en fournir suffisamment pour les besoins du service.

ART. 4.

Le Roi fera fournir au dit fournisseur tous les hommes nécessaires pour rendre les vivres dans les forts, tant par eau que par terre, supposé que le dit fournisseur n'en trouve pas de gré à gré, en par lui les payant au pris accoutumé.

ART. 5.

Il ne sera pas commandé pour la milice aucun des employés du d. fournisseur, tant dans les fabriques des dits vivres que dans les autres détails, et les maisons et magasins qui lui serviront pour remplir son service ne seront point sujets au logement des gens de guerre dans l'étendue de la colonie.

ART. 6.

Il sera donné ordre par Mrs les Gouverneur et Intendant aux commandants et gardes magasins des forts de donner au dit fournisseur toutes les facilités nécessaires pour le transport des vivres, en par lui payant le prix accoutumé. Il leur sera aussi enjoint de tenir la main à ce que les employés du dit fournisseur obéissent à son commis en ce qui regarde le service.

ART. 7.

Les magasins et fours qui seront nécessaires dans les forts, au dit fournisseur, lui seront fournis.

ART. 8.

Il sera pareillement fourni, chaque année, au printemps, au dit four-

nisseur, les bateaux du Cent dont il aura besoin pour le transport des vivres, lesquels il sera chargé d'entretenir à ses frais pendant le cours de l'année.

ART. 9.

Il lui sera permis, en temps de paix, de se servir des barques du Roi qui naviguent sur les lacs, en par lui payant la solde et nourriture des équipages.

ART. 10

Il ne délivrera aucune sorte de vivres dans les ports ou forts, que sur le billet du garde-magasin, en conséquence de l'ordre par écrit du commissaire, s'il y en a un, et à son défaut du commandant, et lorsqu'il n'y aura pas de garde-magasin, sur l'ordre seul par écrit du commissaire, et à son défaut du commandant ; il n'en délivrera pas pareillement d'aucune espèce dans les trois villes de Québec, Trois-Rivières et Montréal, et dans les campagnes, que sur les billets du garde-magasin, en conséquence des ordres de l'Intendant ou des commissaires ou de ceux qui en feront les fonctions.

ART. 11

Lorsque le fournisseur voudra être payé des fournitures qu'il aura faites dans les postes, il rapportera au contrôleur de la marine, à Québec, des états certifiés du garde magasin de chaque poste de la quantité de rations et de chaque espèce de vivres qu'il aura délivrés, les quels états seront visés par le commissaire de la marine, s'il y en a un, et à son défaut du commandant, soutenus des ordres particuliers du dit commissaire ou du dit commandant, afin que le contrôleur puisse en faire la vérification et viser les dits états qui seront ensuite présentés à l'Intendant qui en ordonnera le paiement, et les dits ordres demeureront déposés au contrôle.

ART. 12

Les boissons, vivres ou rations qui seront délivrés pour la traite avec les sauvages, dans les postes où Sa Majesté la fait pour son compte, seront payés au dit fournisseur sur un état particulier certifié seulement par le garde-magasin et visé par le commissaire, s'il y en a ; ces états seront pareillement rapportés au contrôleur de la marine, pour les viser, avant que l'intendant en ordonne le paiement.

ART. 13

Il sera ordonné dans les forts aux garde-magazins d'enregistrer tous les ordres des commissaires ou des commandans pour la livraison des rations et des vivres particuliers, afin que le fournisseur puisse y avoir recours dans le cas que le porteur des états certifiés par les garde-magazins les perdit en revenant des dits postes à Québec; et, en ce cas, le garde-magasin dont les états seroient perdus en expédieroit de nouveaux conformément à son registre, les quels états seroient visés du commissaire du poste et, à son défaut, du commandant et rapportés au contrôleur de la marine pour les vivres ayant que l'intendant en ordonnât le paiement.

ART. 14

Supposé qu'il n'y eût point de garde-magasin dans un poste, un état certifié seulement d'un commissaire et à son défaut du commandant, pour la quantité des rations et vivres particuliers délivrés par son ordre suffira au d. fournisseur pour en exiger le paiement, en observant de le rapporter au contrôleur de la marine, comme à l'article précédent.

ART. 15

Les rations et vivres particuliers qui seront délivrés à la Chine, lieu où on embarque pour les pays d'en haut, lui seront payés par l'ordonnance de l'Intendant sur le certificat du garde-magasin de Montréal, visé du commissaire de la marine ordonnateur en ladite ville.

ART. 16

Les rations et vivres particuliers qui seront délivrés par le d. fournisseur dans les trois villes de Québec, Trois-Rivières et Montréal et dans les campagnes, lui seront payés par l'ordonnance de l'Intendant sur des états certifiés des garde-magazins des trois villes visés du commissaire de la marine chargé des d. magasins, lorsqu'il y en aura et du contrôleur de la marine. Ces états contiendront le total des rations et les différentes espèces de vivres particuliers délivrés pour les besoins du service.

ART. 17

Le dit fournisseur sera obligé d'avoir, dans tous les forts, à la fin d'octobre, des vivres de bonne qualité, tant pour l'hivernement des gar-

nisons que le général y laissera, que pour les sauvages et détachements qui pourront y passer pendant l'hyver, les quels approvisionnemens il ne sera néanmoins obligé de faire qu'autant que l'Intendant les lui aura ordonnés assés à temps pour qu'il puisse les y faire passer avant l'hyver.

ART. 18.

Le d. fournisseur sera obligé de tenir dans les forts de la rivière Oyo une année de vivres au moins, pour 400 hommes, à commencer du 1er septembre 1757, Sa Majesté devant y pourvoir jusqu'à ce tems.

ART. 19.

Si le Gouverneur général jugeoit à propos qu'il fût envoyé des vivres pour une plus grande quantité de monde dans la rivière Oyo, l'Intendant en avertira le dit fournisseur assés à temps pour qu'il profite des eaux du printemps qui sont dans la Rivière-au-Bœuf, sinon le transport de ces vivres se fera aux dépens du Roi, depuis le fort de Niagara.

ART. 20.

Si les bâtimens chargés de comestibles que le d. fournisseur aura demandés en France venoient à être pris par les ennemis ou à se perdre, il sera obligé de donner des preuves de la perte ou prise de ces bâtimens pour être fondé à ne fournir que les vivres que la colonie pourra lui procurer, jusqu'à ce qu'il puisse en faire venir d'autres de France.

ART. 21.

Dans le cas que les ennemis s'emparassent d'un poste ou fort, les vivres et boissons qui s'y trouveront appartenant au fournisseur lui seront payés par l'ordonnance de l'Intendant au prix du tarif ci-après expliqué pour les vivres que le d. fournisseur doit y servir pour les besoins du service, et ce sur le certificat du garde-magazin, visé du commissaire de la marine, s'il y en a, et à son défaut du commandant du fort ou poste, et au défaut de garde-magazin sur le certificat seul du commissaire ou à son défaut du commandant.

ART. 22.

Le Gouverneur général fournira gratis au d. fournisseur des escortes pour la sûreté du transport des vivres dans les forts s'il en est besoin, et si malgré ces escortes les ennemis s'en emparoiént, les d. vivres lui

seront payés sur les certificats du commandant de l'escorte qui en constatera la quantité et qualité au même prix que ceux de l'article précédent. Et quant à ceux qu'il enverra par mer à Miramichy et à Gaspé, s'ils sont pris par l'ennemi ou s'ils se perdent dans le cours du voyage, Sa Majesté sera également tenue d'en payer le prix au d. fournisseur, sur le même pied, ainsi que le prix des bâtimens qui les porteront et sur la copie qu'il rapportera collationnée par le Contrôleur de la marine, de la facture signée du capitaine du bâtiment que le dit fournisseur sera tenu de déposer au bureau du contrôle avant le départ des d. vivres, et sur le certificat du capitaine du port ou de maître d'équipage du port ou d'un maître charpentier entretenu, le quel constatera l'estimation qu'ils auront faite de chaque bâtiment avant son départ, et le d. certificat sera visé du d. contrôleur, et ne sera néanmoins le d. remboursement fait au d. fournisseur que six mois après le départ des dits bâtimens, temps plus que suffisant pour se rendre à leur destination, et sur le certificat du commandant du poste comme les d. bâtimens ne s'y seront pas rendus.

ART. 23.

Les vivres et boissons appartenans au Roi qui se trouveront rendus dans les postes et les forts au jour que le d. fournisseur commencera à fournir la ration seront payés par lui à Sa Majesté le même prix, à la déduction cependant de quatre derniers pour livre, que lui seront payés ceux qu'il doit y tenir en provision, et ce sur l'inventaire qui en sera fait par le garde-magazin en présence du commis du d. fournisseur, visé du commissaire, s'il y en a, et à son défaut du commandant, et au défaut du garde-magazin sur l'arrêté seul du commissaire et à son défaut du commandant.

ART. 24.

A l'expiration des neuf années de la fourniture, les vivres et boissons qui se trouveront dans les d. forts appartenans au fournisseur lui seront payés par Sa Majesté au même prix que le Roi lui paye ceux qu'il s'engage d'y fournir pour le service.

ART. 25.

La ration qu'il fournira dans les trois villes de Québec, Trois-Rivières et Montréal et dans les campagnes où il y aura des troupes en quartier,

telle qu'elle est détaillée cy-après, pour le soldat, l'habitant et le sauvage, lui sera payée, savoir :

La ration du soldat en garnison dans les trois villes, composée d'une livre et demie de pain de farine entière, quatre onces de lard et quatre onces de pois, à raison de neuf sols.

Celle du soldat en quartier dans les campagnes, composée de même, douze sols.

Celle de l'habitant et du sauvage dans les trois villes, composée de deux livres de pain de farine entière, une demi livre de lard, de quatre onces de pois, à douze sols.

ART. 26.

La ration de l'officier, du soldat, du milicien et du sauvage, qui sera fournie dans les forts, lui sera payée, savoir :

Celle de l'officier composée de deux livres de pain de fleur, une demi livre de lard, quatre onces de pois et une roquille d'eau-de-vie, à raison de vingt-sept sols.

La ration du soldat, du milicien ou du sauvage, composée de deux livres de pain de farine entière, une demi livre de lard et quatre onces de pois, à vingt-trois sols.

ART. 27.

Les rations de l'officier, du soldat, du milicien et du sauvage, ainsi que les vivres particuliers qui seront délivrés à la Chine, lieu de l'embarquement pour les pays d'en haut, seront payés au d. fournisseur au même prix des rations et vivres qui seront délivrés dans les postes.

ART. 28.

Il sera permis au d. fournisseur de délivrer la ration en bœuf frais ou salé lorsqu'il manquera de lard, et pour lors elle sera composée du double du lard.

ART. 29.

La ration de l'officier, du soldat, du milicien ou du sauvage fournie tant dans les villes que dans les forts, dans les campagnes et à la Chine, lui sera payée pendant la guerre un cinquième en sus des prix cy-devant portés.

ART. 30.

Il jouira du même cinquième en sus pendant toute l'année dans laquelle la paix sera censée avoir commencé au 1^{er} janvier.

ART. 31.

Le dixième en sus du prix de la ration délivrée pendant la paix, tant dans les villes que dans les forts, dans les campagnes où il y aura des troupes en quartier et à la Chine, lui sera accordée pendant les années de disette de bled en Canada, lesquelles disettes seront constatées par un certificat de six capitaines chargés de la police de six paroisses situées dans le gouvernement de Montréal, lieu où il y a le plus de bled, et le dit certificat sera visé et approuvé par le Gouverneur général et l'Intendant, lequel dixième en sus accordé en temps de disette n'aura lieu qu'en temps de paix et non en temps de guerre.

ART. 32.

Les vins, eaux-de-vie et autres vivres et effets qu'il fera venir de France pour le service, seront exempts de droit au domaine du Roi, sous condition qu'il donnera à l'Intendant, chaque année, avant le départ des derniers bâtimens pour l'Europe, l'état de tout ce qu'il aura demandé en France à l'occasion du service de l'année suivante, afin que l'Intendant puisse en suivre la consommation.

ART. 33.

Outre les vivres que le dit fournisseur sera obligé d'avoir dans les villes et dans les forts pour fournir les bâtimens, il y tiendra aussi en provision ceux qui seront nécessaires tant pour les malades et la traite qui se fait dans certains forts pour le compte du Roi, que pour présents aux sauvages et autres besoins du service extraordinaire, lesquels lui seront payés aux prix cy-après détaillés, savoir :

Dans les villes :

Le bœuf frais, six sols la livre.

Bœuf salé, six sols la livre.

Bœufs vivants, cent vingt livres la pièce.

Vaches vivantes, quatre-vingt livres la pièce.

Langue de bœuf, vingt-cinq sols pièce.

Lard salé, douze sols la livre.
Quarts à lard, cinq livres pièce.
Pain frais de fleur, trois sols la livre.
Pain de farine entière, deux sols six deniers la livre.
Biscuit bis-blanc, treize livres le quintal.
Biscuit blanc, quinze livres le quintal.
Farine fleur, quinze livres le quintal.
Farine entière, treize livres le quintal.
Quarts de farine, quarante sols la pièce.
Bled froment, quatre livres le minot.
Bled d'Inde, quinze livres le quintal.
Pois verts et blancs, treize livres le quintal.
Vin de Bordeaux, cent livres la barrique.
Eau-de-vie, six livres la velle.
Sel, un sol la livre.
Morue verte, quatre livres la poignée.
Morue sèche, seize livres le quintal.
Vinaigre, soixante livres le quart.
Tabac, douze sols la livre.
Mélasse, quatre-vingt-quinze livres la barrique.
Guildive (1), cent vingt livres la barrique.
Sucre en cassonade, cinquante livres le quintal.
Huile d'olive, vingt-cinq sols la livre.
Suifs, quinze sols la livre.
Huile de poisson, quatre-vingt livres la barrique.
Saindoux, vingt sols la livre.
Barrique vuide, quatre livres pièce.
Barils vuides de seize pots, quatre livres pièce.
Barils vuides de six pots, trois livres la pièce.
Quarts de vin blanc, cinquante livres pièce.
Poivre, quarante sols la livre.
Beurre, seize sols la livre.

Dans les forts et postes :

Bœuf frais, douze sols la livre.
Bœuf salé, dix sols la livre.

(1) Tafia.

Bœufs vivants, deux cents livres pièce.
Vaches vivantes, cent quarante livres pièce.
Moutons vivants, quinze livres pièce.
Pain frais de fleur } à cinq sols six deniers, l'un portant l'autre.
Pain de farine entière }
Quarts de farine, cinquante sols la pièce.
Biscuit blanc, trente livres le quintal.
Biscuit bis-blanc, vingt-six livres le quintal.
Farine fleur } à vingt-six livres le quintal, l'un portant l'autre.
Farine entière }
Sel, deux sols six deniers la livre.
Suifs, vingt-cinq sols la livre.
Saindoux, trente sols la livre.
Bled d'Inde, trente livres le quintal.
Pois verts et blancs, trente livres le quintal.
Vin de Bordeaux, deux cents livres la barrique.
Eau-de-vie, douze livres la velte.
Morue verte, huit livres la poignée.
Morue sèche, quarante livres le quintal.
Vinaigre, cent vingt livres le quart.
Cassonade, quatre-vingt livres le quintal.
Huile d'olive, quarante sols la livre.
Riz, dix huit sols la livre.
Raisins, vingt sols la livre.
Pommes, vingt sols la livre.
Huile de poisson, cent soixante livres la barrique.
Lard salé, vingt sols la livre.
Quarts à lard, six livres pièce.
Tabac, trente sols la livre.
Mélasses, deux cents livres la barrique.
Guildive, deux cent quarante livres la barrique.
Barriques vuides, six livres la pièce.
Barils vuides de seize pots, quatre livres pièce.
Quarts de vin blanc, cent livres la pièce.
Beurre, trente sols la livre.
Barils vuides de six pots, trois livres la pièce.

ART. 34.

Les dits vivres seront payés au dit fournisseur pendant le temps de guerre et pendant l'année que la paix sera déclarée au Canada, un cinquième en sus des prix qui lui seront payés pendant la paix, conformément aux articles 29 et 30 concernant le prix des rations pendant la guerre.

ART. 35.

Les dits vivres lui seront payés pareillement en temps de disette de bled en Canada un dixième en dessus du prix qui lui est accordé en temps de paix, conformément à l'article 31 pour le prix des rations fournies en temps de disette.

ART. 36.

Si dans la disette de bled en Canada, l'Intendant perçoit du comestible dans le magasin du dit fournisseur pour être distribué au peuple, ou que l'habitant y en achetât avec la permission de l'Intendant, celui que le fournisseur délivrera lui sera payé un quart en sus de ce qu'il lui aura coûté, pour le dédommager de la demeure d'argent, du déplacement et du magasinage, et le dit prix sera arrêté par l'Intendant.

ART. 37.

Le d. fournisseur s'engage à ne vendre ni à ne faire aucun commerce directement ou indirectement des comestibles et boissons qu'il tirera de France et de ceux du crû du pays, sous peine de dix mille livres d'amende applicables moitié à celui qui prouvera le dit commerce et l'autre moitié aux fortifications de Québec et, en cas de récidive, de telle punition que monseigneur le Garde des Sceaux jugera à propos d'ordonner.

ART. 38.

Le d. fournisseur s'engage à commencer à fournir la ration et les vivres nécessaires pour le service dans les trois villes de Québec, Trois-Rivières et Montréal, dans les campagnes où il y aura des troupes en quartier et à la Chine, à compter du 1er janvier 1757 et finir le dernier décembre 1765; et dans les postes de Saint-Jean, Chambly, Saint-Frédéric, Carillon, Saint-Régis, la Présentation, Frontenac, Toronto, Niagara, petit fort du portage de Niagara, Miramichy et Gaspé, à commencer du 1er juillet 1757 jusqu'au dernier juin 1766, et dans les postes

de la presqu'île de la Rivière-au-Bœuf et de la Rivière Oyo, à commencer du 1^{er} juillet 1757 jusqu'au dernier aoust 1766.

ART. 39.

Les fournitures que le fournisseur fera au Roi lui seront payées chaque année par le trésorier de la marine devant le tirage des lettres de change, sur les ordonnances de l'Intendant.

ART. 40.

Supposé que les billets de caisse qui seront rapportés en automne à la caisse du trésorier de la marine ne fussent acquittés qu'en lettres de change, payables en plusieurs années, le papier que le fournisseur rapportera de la dite caisse, provenant des paiements que le trésorier lui aura faits, sera acquitté en lettres de change payables, deux tiers l'année suivante et l'autre tiers la seconde année, ne renonçant pas néanmoins le dit fournisseur à être payé en lettre de change payable l'année suivante, si le public était traité ainsi.

ART. 41.

Il sera payé par le Roi au fournisseur, cette année seulement, une avance de 300.000 livres avant le tirage des lettres de change, attendu la quantité de comestibles qu'il est obligé de faire venir de France.

ART. 42 et dernier.

Les quatre deniers pour livre attribués aux invalides seront retenus au dit fournisseur sur tous les paiements qui lui seront faits en vertu du présent marché pour l'exécution duquel il oblige et affecte tous ses biens présents et futurs, s'agissant des affaires de Sa Majesté.

Fait à Québec, les jour et an susdits,

Signé : J. CADET, BIGOT et MARTEL.

Collationné. Signé : de VILLERS.

(19 mai 1759.)

*Lettre du marquis de Montcalm à M. Cadet, munitionnaire
général, à Québec.*

A Montréal, ce 19 mai 1759.

Je réponds, Monsieur, aux deux lettres que vous avés pris la peine de m'écrire le 12 et le 13. Des remerciemens pour Liard, et de votre attention à me faire passer mes lettres ventées par vos bâtimens. M. l'Intendant m'écrit du 14 que vous êtes en état de remplir, jusques à la fin de la campagne, l'arrangement que vous avés bien voulu proposer et dont je vous suis obligé de quatre barriques de vin par mois par bataillon, et d'une barrique de huit en huit officiers de la colonie. Personne ne vous rend plus de justice que moi que vous ne cherchés qu'à obliger. Je voudrois bien trouver les occasions de vous rendre service. J'ai l'honneur d'être très parfaitement, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Signé : MONTCALM.

(25 mai 1759.)

L'intendant Bigot au sieur Cadet.

Il est ordonné au sieur Cadet, munitionnaire, de faire faire une provision de biscuits et de prendre ses arrangements pour fournir la subsistance à ration d'habitants à un corps de dix à douze mille hommes et peut-être plus, qui vont se rendre et camper aux environs de Québec pour s'opposer aux entreprises des ennemis, ainsi que pour les officiers qui auront la ration comme dans les forts.

A Québec, le 25 mai 1759.

Signé : BIGOT.

(26 mai 1739.)

J. Cadet à Monseigneur l'Intendant de la Nouvelle-France.

Le munitionnaire des vivres en Canada a reçu l'ordre qu'il vous a plu de lui donner de faire faire du biscuit et de prendre des arrangements pour fournir la subsistance à un corps de dix à douze mille hommes, qui doivent venir camper aux environs de Québec pour la défense du pays.

Il a l'honneur de vous représenter, Monseigneur, qu'il n'est obligé par son traité à fournir la ration et les vivres nécessaires pour le service que dans les trois villes et dans les forts et postes du Roi désignés par ledit traité ; que son obligation ne s'étend point à fournir la subsistance d'un camp d'observation ou de défense qu'il plairait à M. le Gouverneur général d'établir, cet objet n'ayant pas été prévu par ledit traité.

Le suppliant ne peut refuser de pourvoir à cette subsistance étant le seul qui aie des vivres ; mais il espère que vous réglerez le prix de la ration sur le pied auquel les vivres lui sont rendus à Québec, non compris le fret. Vous verrez, Monseigneur, par l'extrait ci-joint tiré des factures de ses correspondants, que la farine lui coûte 102 l. le quintal et le lard 1 l. 7 s. 8 d. la livre, et que la ration sur ce pied monte à 3 l. 1 s. 5 d., pour l'officier, et celle du soldat à 2 l. 16 s. 2 d., prix d'achat, sans compter les frais de transport, de commis et de distribution. Ces prix doivent faire juger des pertes considérables qu'il supporte forcément dans les fournitures qu'il fait dans les villes et dans les forts. Seroit-il juste qu'il augmentât ses pertes par de nouvelles subsistances auxquelles il n'est pas obligé par son traité ?

Le suppliant offre de fournir ces subsistances, savoir :

La ration de l'officier composée :

De deux livres de pain de fleur	} à 3 l. 16 s. 10 d.
Une demi livre de lard	
Un quart de pois	
Une roquille d'eau-de-vie	

Celle du soldat, milicien et sauvage composée de :

Deux livres de pain de farine entière Une demi livre de lard Un quart de pois	}	à 3 l. 10 s. 2 d.
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Il ne peut gagner sur les rations quoiqu'il les porte à un quart en sus au delà du prix d'achat pour les frais de transport, commis et engagés à la distribution, et pour les déchets inévitables sur la distribution du lard, et quatre deniers pour la livre attribuée aux invalides, à moins qu'il ne vous plaise, Monseigneur, de faire prendre dans ses magasins les vivres sur le pied qu'il lui coûtera (*sic*), et d'en faire faire la distribution par économie pour le compte du Roi.

A Québec, le 26 mai 1759.

Signé : J. CADET.

(26 mai 1759.)

Ordre de l'intendant Bigot.

Le munitionnaire se conformera, nonobstant sa prétention, à l'ordre que nous lui avons donné le jour d'hier, sauf à lui à se pourvoir pardevant Monseigneur Berryer, ministre de la marine, qui décidera de la justice de la demande, à l'effet de quoi il sera expédié, par le garde des magasins du Roi, à Québec, des états *ad hoc* des rations qu'il aura fournies aux officiers, soldats, miliciens et sauvages qui composeront l'armée de l'intérieur de la Colonie.

A Québec, le 26 mai 1759.

Signé : BIGOT.

(28 mai 1759.)

*Extrait d'une lettre écrite par le marquis de Vaudreuil à
M. de Berryer, ministre de la Marine.*

.... Elle seroit (il parloit de la Colonie) dès à présent dans cette dure extrémité (il étoit question du manque de subsistance), si le Sr Kanon

n'étoit pas arrivé avec la flotte du munitionnaire. La façon dont il s'est acquitté de cette importante mission mérite que je vous fasse ses éloges Les Anglois ont eu beau se mettre à l'entrée de notre fleuve, il leur a heureusement échappé avec sa petite flotte, à l'exception de deux navires qui sont vraisemblablement en leur pouvoir (1).

Le munitionnaire, qui vient de me rendre compte de notre situation par rapport aux vivres, m'a représenté qu'indépendamment de la perte de ces deux navires, il en a encore perdu cinq, l'un des quels a péri sur les côtes d'Espagne, et que ses quatre autres qui étoient sur leur départ de Bordeaux auront infailliblement tombé dans la flotte anglaise (2).

Il m'a aussi représenté qu'il avait épuisé au delà de sa fortune pour s'acquitter avec le zèle et la distinction d'un bon citoyen de son traité avec le Roi. Vous avez pu, Monseigneur, avoir connoissance des pertes qu'il a faites depuis qu'il est entré dans ses fonctions.

Je vous assure que rien n'est à l'épreuve de son zèle et de sa bonne volonté pour le service du Roi et la conservation de cette colonie ; il s'empresse à nous donner des preuves de son activité et de ses ressources.

D'après toutes ces considérations vous voyés Monseigneur, qu'il est d'une nécessité absolue que vous nous fassiez passer cet automne abondamment de vivres de toute espèce. Ce munitionnaire offre de s'en charger et d'en tenir compte au Roi sur le même pied que Sa Majesté les lui paye ; au surplus, vous pourrés, Monseigneur, donner vos ordres au sujet de ces vivres, le tout est qu'ils nous parviennent. C'est l'unique moyen que je trouve pour éviter que cette colonie ne tombe d'elle-même par le manque de subsistances.

Le munitionnaire, malgré ses pertes et les risques, demande par cette occasion à la Vve Courrejolles et fils, de Bayonne, 6.000 quarts de pois, bled d'Inde ou fayots, et au Sr Pre Desclaux et fils aîné, de Bordeaux, un navire chargé de farines et lards. J'ai l'honneur de vous

(1) Ces deux navires ont en effet été pris par la flotte anglaise (annotation de J. Cadet).

(2) Ces quatre navires, aussi chargés de vivres, sont en effet tombés au pouvoir des Anglois (annotation de J. Cadet).

en prévenir et de vous supplier, Monseigneur, de vouloir bien protéger cet envoi afin qu'il nous parvienne aussi cet automne (1).

(24 juillet 1759.)

*Instruction du marquis de Vaudreuil pour le sieur Cadet,
munitionnaire général des vivres.*

Le sieur Cadet partira demain, 25, pour se rendre à Batiscan, au dépôt des vivres. En passant à Jacques Cartier, il remettra à M. Dumas un paquet contenant une instruction relative à sa mission.

Il verra si les bateaux que nous avons déposés au Cap-Santé sont galfatés et, s'ils ne l'étaient pas, il les fera hâter.

M. Dumas lui donnera cent hommes dans quatre bateaux du Roi, avec lesquels il se rendra audit Batiscan, où, étant, il fera débarquer de ses navires pour quinze jours de vivres à 17 mille hommes, qu'il fera charger dans les bâtimens de transport qui sont actuellement audit Batiscan, sur lesquels il répartira les dits cent hommes.

Il fera venir les dits bâtimens, s'il est possible, jusqu'au Cap-Santé, d'où il donnera sur-le-champ avis à M. Dumas qui, avec son détachement, ira recevoir les dits vivres, les fera charger dans les bateaux du Roi et les mènera en cette ville.

Si le sieur Cadet apprenoit à son retour que l'ennemi eût fait passer des vaisseaux ou frégates au pied du Richelieu, il feroit arrêter à Deschambault les bâtimens chargés de vivres et nous en donnerait promptement avis, ainsi qu'à M. Dumas qui, en ce cas, iroit avec ses bateaux chercher les dits vivres.

Fait en notre quartier général, le 24 juillet 1759.

Signé : VAUDREUIL.

(1) Les correspondants du munitionnaire ont en effet acheté des vivres ; un navire en a été chargé et est tombé au pouvoir des Anglois. Une autre partie est restée en magasin et a été revendue avec perte (annotation de J. Cadet).

(10 août 1759.)

Pierre de Rigaud, marquis de Vaudreuil, grand'croix de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis, gouverneur et lieutenant-général pour le Roi en toute la Nouvelle-France, terre et pays de Louiziane.

Nous, ordonnons au sieur Cadet, munitionnaire général des vivres, de partir dès demain pour se rendre à Batiscan, à bord de ses navires, où étant, il en fera et débarquer et charger sur des bâtiments de transport les vivres nécessaires en farines et lard pour la subsistance de l'armée et de la garnison de sa ville, pendant quinze jours, à raison de 17 mille hommes.

Nous ne lui prescrivons rien sur la route, ni sur les voitures qu'il doit employer au transport de ces vivres, cela dépendant des circonstances plus ou moins favorables.

Mais nous lui demandons essentiellement de prendre les arrangements les plus convenables et les plus seurs à cet égard avec M. de Bougainville, colonel d'infanterie, commandant la chaîne des postes que nous avons établis jusqu'à Jacques-Cartier, et avec M. de Bléau, commandant au dit Jacques-Cartier.

Mandons à mes dits sieurs de Bougainville et de Bléau de donner au dit sieur Cadet toutes les facilités qui dépendront d'eux, tant en hommes, voitures d'eau et de terre qu'autrement, enfin de prendre avec lui les mesures les plus solides à assurer le transport de ces vivres et les mettre à couvert de toutes recherches et insultes de la part de l'ennemi.

Le dit sieur Cadet communiquera notre présent ordre à MM. de Bougainville et de Bléau.

Fait en notre quartier général, le 10 août 1759.

Signé : VAUDREUIL.

(19 août 1759.)

Le marquis de Vaudreuil au sieur Cadet.

19 août 1759, après midi.

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Je suis très sensible au détail que vous m'avez fait de la descente des berges ennemies à Chambaud. J'espère qu'ils n'auront pas poussé bien avant leurs progrès, qu'à l'arrivée de M. de Bougainville ils se seront retirés, ou que du moins ils auront été combattus. Espérons qu'il aura le temps de rassembler toutes ces forces. Je compte si fort sur vous que je me flatte que vous sauverez tous vos vivres. Vous devez actuellement avoir reçu toutes les charrettes du camp et toutes celles que je vous ai annoncées par une lettre de ce matin, au moyen de quoi vous ferez pour le mieux à tous égards.

Vous jugez bien qu'il me tardera d'apprendre ce qui se sera passé dans cette journée.

J'ai l'honneur d'être très sincèrement, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Signé : VAUDREUIL.

(29 août 1759.)*Le marquis de Vaudreuil au sieur Cadet.*

Du quartier général (camp de Beauport), le 29 août 1759.

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire hier, par laquelle j'ai appris avec plaisir que M. Kanon a dû descendre ce matin avec trois de vos plus fortes frégates pour se joindre à M. Vauquelin. Il n'est rien moins que votre activité à faire partir hier au soir à cinq heures les commandants de batteries Levasseur et du Domaine avec quelques autres officiers et tous matelots de celles de cette ville. J'approuve fort que l'on ait gardé les Canadiens qui étaient attachés aux mêmes batteries et les matelots de celle du camp pour descendre le

restant de vos vivres. Comme j'ai appris que les vaisseaux ennemis sont mouillés depuis le Cap-Rouge jusqu'au moulin de Saint-Nicolas et jusqu'à Saint-Augustin, j'espère que vous n'aurez aucune difficulté à faire mener les vivres, en bateaux, jusqu'à la Pointe aux Trembles. Vous les ferez mettre en dépôt dans l'église de ce lieu d'où, pour une plus grande seureté, vous les ferez voiturer par terre jusqu'à l'armée, je ferai partir, pour cet effet, dès demain, toutes les charrettes du camp.

Je ne suis pas moins fâché que vous, que les circonstances aient mis obstacle à l'exécution du projet en question. Vous savez qu'on ne peut ajouter à l'intérêt que je prends à tout ce qui vous regarde, ni à la sincérité avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Signé: VAUDREUIL.

(5 octobre 1759.)

Extrait d'une lettre du marquis de Vaudreuil à M. de Berryer, ministre de la Marine.

..... Je suppléai à l'insuffisance des canonniers pour le service des deux fégates du Roy, de celles du munitionnaire et de ses navires dont je tirai environ 1200 hommes et surtout des officiers marins.

Le 25 (c'étoit le 25 aoust), j'accordai pour huit jours au Sr Cadet, munitionnaire, 800 hommes des équipages de ses navires, pour les mettre en état d'armer six de ses frégates qu'il m'avoit prié de lui permettre d'envoyer sur le vaisseau, la frégate et les goëlettes angloises. Je joignis à ce projet celui de faire passer à la côte du sud sous les ordres de M. de Bougainville, la veille que les six frégates devoient opérer, deux compagnies de grenadiers et trois piquets des troupes de terre afin que dans le même instant les vaisseaux et le camp ennemis fussent attaqués. M. le marquis de Montcalm goûta beaucoup ce projet. Tout sembloit en promettre le plus heureux succès; mais le 27, à 10 heures du soir, ayant passé au-dessus de Québec une frégate, deux navires, un pincre et un bateau, M. le marquis de Montcalm me pressa de hâter le retour de nos matelots sans exception, tandis que l'augmentation de l'escadre ennemie

me donnoit lieu de craindre pour les frégates du Roi. Je donnai ordre au Sr. Kanon de descendre de Batiscan avec trois des plus fortes frégates du munitionnaire pour se joindre aux frégates du Roi qui étoient à l'entrée du Richelieu. Quoique le Sr Kanon n'eût pas assez de matelots, il n'exécuta pas moins mon ordre, mais il en coûta au munitionnaire la frégate *la Nanon*, de 26 canons, qui périt sur le Cap-à-la-Roche (1).

(2 novembre 1759.)

L'intendant Bigot au ministre Berryer.

De Montréal, le 2 novembre 1759.

Monseigneur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser copie du mémoire des vivres que le munitionnaire demande en France pour l'année prochaine. Il marque à son correspondant de prendre vos ordres pour leur accomplissement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, etc.

Signé : Bigot.

Mémoire des vivres que je prie (J. Cadet) MM. Pierre Desclaux et fils aîné, négociants à Bordeaux, de m'expédier le printemps prochain, relativement à mes instructions contenues dans une lettre de ce jour, savoir :

18,000 quarts de lard, pesant 200 livres, net sans pied ni tête ;
8,000 ancras de lard de 50 livres chacune ;

(1) Comme la frégate *le Maréchal de Senecey*, qui coûtoit seule au sieur Cadet 540 mille livres, la frégate *le Soleil-Royal* et autres vaisseaux qui se sont perdus en novembre 1759, au Saut-de-la-Chaudière, au-dessus de Québec, l'ont été après l'arrivée des lettres du Gouverneur, Généraux et Intendant, qui résidaient à Montréal, après la prise de Québec, et que ce n'a été que par l'attente des paquets pour la Cour, que les vaisseaux se sont trouvés exposés au tems furieux qui les a assaillis, M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil n'a pu en rendre compte au Ministre en 1759.—Ce n'a été que vers le mois de juin 1760 qu'il en a informé le Ministre, en lui représentant la justice qu'il y avoit d'en tenir compte au munitionnaire qui a perdu dans cet instant pour près d'un million de vaisseaux.—(Note de J. Cadet.)

2.000 ancras de saindoux de 50 à 60 livres net ;
 15.000 quarts farine fleur, 1re qualité
 10.000 quarts farine entière } de 180 livres net.
 25.000 quarts farine gruaux
 150 tonneaux vin rouge de Saint-Macaire ;
 100 quarts de vin blanc —
 2.400 quarts eau-de-vie de 16 veltes ;
 4.000 ancras — de trois veltes trois quarts ;
 100 quarts de vinaigre ;
 100 barils d'huile d'olive, d'environ 50 litres net ;
 100 quarts de riz ;
 20 quarts de prunes communes ;
 3.000 quarts de pois ;
 6.000 quarts de fèves et fayaux ;
 200 frequins de beurre de 50 à 60 livres net.

A Montréal, le 26 octobre 1759.

Signé : J. CADET.

(7 novembre 1759.)

*Lettre de M. le marquis de Vaudreuil, à M. de Berryer,
ministre, datée de Montréal, le 7 novembre 1759.*

Monseigneur,

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire chaque année au sujet des vivres dont cette colonie avoit besoin. Je me suis essentiellement occupé de cette partie parce que, effectivement, elle est l'objet capital des opérations de guerre. J'ai plus à vous dire, Monseigneur, cette année à cet égard que toutes les précédentes.

J'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous marquer que cette colonie seroit, le printemps prochain, aussi dénuée qu'elle l'étoit lorsqu'elle prit naissance. Dans les circonstances où nous sommes, nous avons à craindre l'ennemi ; mais nous sommes encore plus menacés d'une famine dont les suites seroient certainement funestes, quelque pût être le sort de cette colonie.

L'unique remède à nos maux seroit la paix ; mais quand même la guerre continueroit, nous n'aurions pas moins besoin, Monseigneur, de recevoir des comestibles en prime.

Le munitionnaire connoit parfaitement notre situation ; je n'ai pas cru devoir lui cacher les éclaircissements que j'ai pris moi-même. Notre disette est extrême ; d'après cela il donne ses ordres à MM. Pierre Desclaux et fils, négocians de Bordeaux, et leur fait des demandes relatives à nos besoins. Ces négociants auront l'honneur, Monseigneur, de recourir directement à votre autorité pour l'accomplissement de ces demandes, soit que nous ayons la paix ou que la guerre continue, suivant les instructions que le munitionnaire leur a données. Je vous supplie, Monseigneur, de vouloir bien leur accorder votre protection pour qu'ils aient les vivres dont nous avons besoin et les navires et matelots nécessaires pour en faire le transport, ceux du munitionnaire ne peuvent y suffire à beaucoup près. De ce secours dépend exactement la conservation du Canada au Roi. Je ne dois pas vous cacher, Monseigneur, que, malgré les soins et l'industrie du munitionnaire, la misère sera si grande cet hiver que Sa Majesté pourra perdre beaucoup de ses sujets.

L'avenir m'occupe cependant plus que le présent ; aussi avois-je déterminé le munitionnaire à passer dès cet automne en France pour suivre lui-même et solliciter auprès de vous, Monseigneur, l'exécution de ses demandes ; mais M. l'Intendant, pénétré, du triste état de la colonie, lui a donné ordre de rester (1).

Ce munitionnaire espéroit beaucoup des représentations qu'il se proposoit d'avoir l'honneur de vous faire lui-même sur les pertes très considérables qu'il a faites cette année ; je l'ai rassuré sur votre justice, Monseigneur, il a l'honneur de vous écrire.

Le premier objet de ses représentations est que, par son marché avec

(1) Cette phrase nous donne à penser que l'intendant Bigot redoutait pour lui-même les conséquences d'un entretien direct et intime entre le Ministre et Joseph Cadet. En effet, ce dernier, déjà lésé dans ses intérêts, n'aurait pas manqué de se plaindre des abus d'autorité de son chef immédiat qui tolérait, pour s'en approprier les bénéfices, les malversations qui le firent condamner plus tard. Confiant et faible, le marquis de Vaudreuil n'avait pas su pénétrer les menées secrètes et ténébreuses de l'intendant qui songeait encore plus à s'enrichir qu'à sauver la colonie.

le Roi, le cas du siège de Québec n'ayant pas été prévu, il ne devoit ni ne pouvoit être assujetti à fournir la ration aux armées que j'ai mis sur pied aux mêmes prix qu'aux garnisons, attendu les dépenses inséparables d'une semblable fourniture : 1° par des fours et magasins qu'il a été obligé d'établir dans tous les lieux où j'ai fait passer des troupes ; 2° par le nombre des commis, employés et journaliers qu'il n'a pu se dispenser d'avoir à son service ; 3° par les frais de transport des vivres dans les postes où à la suite des détachements de l'armée ; 4° par les pertes et les fausses consommations que les mouvements lui ont occasionnés. Ce sont certainement, Monseigneur, des cas extraordinaires qui méritent des égards.

Le munitionnaire ajoute à cela que la ration de l'officier lui revient, rendue à la colonie, à 3 l. 1 s. 5 d., celle du soldat à 2 l. 16 s. 2 d. Il est fort aisé, Monseigneur, de connoître les pertes que le munitionnaire fait sur les rations par le nombre d'hommes qui ont été campés, soit à Beauport ou aux environs du gouvernement de Montréal.

Je dois, en mon particulier, Monseigneur, avoir l'honneur de vous représenter que le munitionnaire mérite d'être dédommagé de la perte de sa frégate *la Nanon*. Cette perte a été occasionnée, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous en rendre compte, par l'ordre que les circonstances m'obligèrent de donner au Sr Kanon, de se joindre avec trois frégates du munitionnaire à celles du Roi pour les soutenir, ayant une plus forte artillerie, et former ensemble une chaîne pour défendre le passage du Richelieu.

Je m'engage d'autant plus volontiers, Monseigneur, à vous écrire en faveur de ce munitionnaire, que c'est au secours qu'il a fait venir de France qu'on peut attribuer la conservation de la colonie au Roi. Nous devrions à ces secours la campagne honteuse que nos ennemis auroient faite sans le triste dénouement de la journée du 13 septembre et la reddition de Québec qui en fut une suite. Mais le munitionnaire n'en a pas moins rempli ses engagements envers le Roi. Il y a joint un attachement et un zèle pour sa patrie ; il n'est aucun sacrifice qu'il n'ait fait pour coopérer en tout ce qui pouvoit le concerner à la prospérité des armes de Sa Majesté.

Fondé sur toutes les considérations, je dois vous supplier, Monseigneur, de vouloir bien engager Sa Majesté à donner des marques authen-

tiques de la satisfaction que je me flatte qu'elle aura du zèle de ce munitionnaire pour son service, et de faire en sa faveur ce qu'elle a accordé à des négociants qui, dans des occasions moins capitales, ont donné des preuves de leur bonne volonté. Les lettres de noblesse dont le Roi honorerait ce munitionnaire lui seraient acquises par ses sentiments; elles produiroient un excellent effet en France comme au Canada.

Je suis, etc.

(25 novembre 1759.)

J. Cadet à Monseigneur l'Intendant..

Le munitionnaire des vivres en Canada a l'honneur de vous exposer que, malgré les justes réclamations qu'il vous fit par son mémoire du 26 may dernier, concernant la subsistance de l'armée destinée à couvrir Québec, vous lui ordonnâtes de le remplir et vous les renvoyâtes à Monseigneur de Berryer, ministre, pour décider de la justice de sa demande.

Le suppliant obéit aveuglément à votre ordre, quoiqu'il ne fût pas obligé par son traité à fournir la subsistance de cette armée; mais, en obéissant à cet ordre, il ne s'attendait pas alors que Québec seroit pris, qu'il seroit, par conséquent, privé de tirer des vivres des paroisses au-dessous de cette ville nord et sud, et qu'on entretiendrait pendant l'hiver un corps de troupes à Jacques-Cartier, où l'on a bâti un fort et des postes avancés.

Les consommations extraordinaires faites pendant la campagne, les levées forcées qu'on a été obligé de faire en bled et en bestiaux, ont occasionné des augmentations de prix énormes, ce qui vous a engagé, Monseigneur, à taxer les vivres qu'on lève actuellement dans le gouvernement, savoir: le bled, à 15 livres le minot; les farines, à 45 livres le quintal, et la viande fraîche à 30 sols la livre, le lard manquant.

Le suppliant a acheté sur ce pied les vivres nécessaires pour la subsistance de la garnison de Jacques-Cartier et des postes avancés, ainsi que pour celle des garnisons des forts-frontières jusqu'au mois de mai prochain; il paie pour le service des villes des Trois-Rivières et Montréal le même prix. Outre ces prix considérables, il en coûte au suppliant

moitié en sus, et même plus, pour le transport des vivres par terre à Jacques-Cartier et dans les forts, puisqu'ils sont tous tirés du gouvernement de Montréal.

Le suppliant ne peut se dispenser, Monseigneur, de vous marquer sa surprise sur l'obligation où il se trouve par votre taxe de payer ces trois articles de comestibles à ces prix (sans compter les frais), tandis que, par son marché, la ration n'est portée que sur le pied de 13 livres le quintal de farine et 6 sols le bœuf frais dans les villes, et au double dans les forts et frontières.

Les pertes considérables qu'il a supportées pendant la campagne dont il ne se flatte pas d'être entièrement remboursé, en supposant les meilleures intentions de la part du Ministre, et celles qu'il fait journellement pour remplir malgré lui le service, vous sont connues ; elles ne lui permettent pas de continuer plus longtemps la fourniture générale. Il doit des sommes immenses ; il n'a d'autres ressources pour y faire face que le dédommagement qu'il plaira au Ministre de lui accorder. S'il suivoit cette entreprise, ce ne pourroit être qu'en contractant de nouvelles dettes, et il est certain qu'il seroit obligé de faire banqueroute.

Ces raisons, Monseigneur, forcent le suppliant à vous prier de vouloir bien accepter sa démission de la fourniture générale des vivres et de vous en charger pour le compte du Roi, par économie, à compter du 1^{er} janvier prochain, auquel temps il remettra aux personnes chargées de vos ordres les vivres qu'il aura en provision dans ses magasins tant des villes que des forts.

A Montréal, le 25 novembre 1759.

Signé : CADET.

A cette demande de résiliation fortement motivée, l'Intendant répondit deux jours après :

Vu la présente requête, Nous, sans y avoir égard, ordonnons au sieur Cadet de continuer la fourniture générale des vivres, sauf à lui à se pourvoir par devers Monseigneur de Berryer, ministre d'État, auquel nous rendrons compte de la justice de ses représentations.

A Montréal, le 27 novembre 1759.

Signé : BIGOT.

(4 janvier 1760.)

L'Intendant au munitionnaire.

Il est ordonné au sieur Cadet, munitionnaire, de prendre des mesures solides pour fournir la ration ordinaire pendant quarante ou cinquante jours à un corps de huit ou dix mille hommes, officiers, soldats, miliciens et sauvages, qui doivent faire le siège de Québec, en février, mars ou avril prochain, outre le service ordinaire des villes et des forts.

A Montréal, le 4 janvier 1760.

Signé : BIGOT.

(7 janvier 1760.)

A Monseigneur l'Intendant.

Le sieur Cadet, munitionnaire des vivres en Canada, a reçu avec la dernière surprise l'ordre qu'il vous a plu lui donner de prendre des mesures pour fournir la subsistance à un corps de huit à dix mille hommes destinés à faire le siège de Québec. Il ne sauroit vous exprimer, Monseigneur, sa triste situation. Si vous le forcez par autorité à exécuter votre ordre, vous mettez le comble à ses malheurs.

Il a eu l'honneur de vous représenter, au mois de novembre dernier, les pertes qu'il avoit souffertes pendant la campagne dernière et celles qu'il supportoit journellement. Il vous a plu seulement de le renvoyer au Ministre en lui ordonnant de remplir le service. Que deviendra donc le suppliant ? Non seulement il se trouve sans aucune ressource, mais il ne pourra par la suite qu'augmenter ses dettes.

Les pertes qu'il supporte forcément dans le service journalier, et qui sont à votre connoissance et à celle du public, en égard aux prix auxquels vous avez taxé vous-même les vivres du crû du pays, ne sont rien en raison de celles qu'il essuieroit si vous le forciez encore à fournir la subsistance de 8 à 10 mille hommes, outre le service journalier.

M. le marquis de Vaudreuil est le maître de faire tel mouvement qu'il jugera à propos ; le suppliant respecte trop le Gouvernement pour

vouloir entrer dans ses vues ; mais seroit-il juste que des entreprises extraordinaires et forcées fussent faites aux dépens seuls du suppliant.

Il est naturel qu'à la gloire des armes du Roy soient attachées les dépenses qu'elles occasionnent.

Quelques justes représentations que le suppliant ait eu l'honneur de vous faire, il a eu la douleur d'être renvoyé par devers le Ministre. Il espère assurément beaucoup de sa justice ; mais il se flatte encore plus, Monseigneur, que vous aurez égard à la situation qu'il vous a si souvent exposée et que, pour prévenir sa ruine totale qui entraîneroit celle de nombre de personnes qui lui ont fait des avances, vous voudrez bien vous charger, pour le compte de Sa Majesté, de l'achat et distribution des vivres nécessaires aux corps d'armée en question et à la fourniture desquels le suppliant n'est pas obligé par son traité.

Dans la vue de soulager le Canada, le suppliant a donné ordre à son correspondant de Bordeaux de lui expédier deux frégates chargées de vivres. Il se flatte qu'elles parviendront. Il livrera avec plaisir ces vivres au Roi en les lui remboursant le prix qu'ils lui auront coûté en France, ainsi que le fret.

A Montréal, le 6 janvier 1760.

Signé : CADET.

Le lendemain, l'Intendant répond :

Vu la présente requête, Nous ordonnons au sieur Cadet de se conformer à l'ordre que nous lui avons donné, le 4 de ce mois, pour fournir l'armée en question, sauf à lui à se pourvoir par devers Monseigneur de Berryer, ministre d'État, auquel nous rendrons compte de ses représentations.

A Montréal, le 7 janvier 1760.

Signé : BIGOT.

(25 février 1760.)

*Extraits d'une lettre de Pierre Desclaux et fils aîné,
négociants à Bordeaux, à Joseph Cadet.*

.....
 " Mais ce qui est encore plus malheureux pour vous et pour nous est la suspension de paiement de toutes les lettres de change tirées des colonies qui éclata au mois d'octobre dernier (1759). Le Roi a rendu un arrêt le 15 octobre qui ordonne que le paiement de celles de ces lettres de change qui se trouvaient alors enregistrées serait suspendu jusqu'à la paix et qu'alors on paiera 500 mille livres par mois, suivant l'ordre des échéances, et que quant à celles qui seraient tirées des colonies avant qu'on y eût connaissance de l'arrêt du conseil, le paiement en serait suspendu pendant dix-huit mois, et qu'ensuite le Roi se réserve d'ordonner ce qu'il jugera à propos sur le paiement des dites lettres de change ; voilà, Monsieur, quelle est à présent la situation des affaires. Les lettres du Canada ne sont pas les seules dont le paiement est suspendu, tous les effets royaux sont dans le même cas."

On voit que, dès 1759, les finances de l'État étaient épuisées, et que le Gouvernement se trouvait dans l'impossibilité absolue de remplir ses engagements pour couvrir les dépenses énormes faites aussi bien au Canada qu'en France. Les abus et les prodigalités d'une cour envahie par la corruption avaient ruiné le pays auquel on donnait pour toute satisfaction des arrêts du Roi en conseil d'État destinés à refréner l'impatience légitime de ses nombreux créanciers.—Tous ces ajournements ne pouvaient qu'enfanter la banqueroute.

La lettre de Pierre Desclaux et fils aîné nous donne encore l'idée de l'absolutisme et du sans gêne du Ministre de la marine, "l'inepte" Berryer, à l'égard des fournisseurs ou des créanciers de l'État.

"....Quant au *Machault*, le Ministre l'a pris d'autorité pour servir à convoyer les vaisseaux de transport. Il n'a pas même voulu payer les gages qui sont dus aux équipages pour la campagne, de façon que ces équipages, nonobstant l'offre que nous leur faisions de leur abandonner le navire pour leurs gages, n'ont pas voulu s'en contenter, sachant que le Roi le leur enlèverait. Ils nous ont attaqués personnellement en

justice pour le paiement de leurs salaires et nous y avons été condamnés par sentence de l'Amirauté. Jugez, Monsieur, de l'embarras où nous devons être, car il nous est impossible de faire ce désarmement qui va à près de 80.000 livres. Nous tâcherons de gagner du temps."

En supposant que le munitionnaire J. Cadet eût réalisé sur ses fournitures à l'Etat quelques gains illicites, il est aussi à remarquer qu'il fut souvent trompé lui-même. Nous en trouvons un exemple frappant dans la même lettre de ses correspondants de Bordeaux.

"... Nous avons désarmé le navire le *Colibri*, et comme dans les circonstances présentes il était inutile de le garder dès que nous ne pouvions pas l'employer, nous en avons fait la vente pour la somme de 12,000 livres. C'est avec bien du mal au cœur que nous nous voyons obligés de vous apprendre la friponnerie du sieur Nau, à qui vous en aviez confié le commandement : ce malheureux a fait une prise sur le banc de Terre-neuve chargée de draperies et autres marchandises sèches d'un grand prix, ayant formé de concert avec les officiers de son équipage le dessein de vous en frustrer, et se contenta de prendre à son bord les objets les plus précieux et renvoya ensuite le navire anglais sans le rançonner ; il vint ensuite à terre à l'île Saint-Martin-de-Ré, où il vendit clandestinement une partie des marchandises qu'il avait à bord, et le reste fut mis à terre la nuit en bas de notre rivière. Nous n'avons été informés de cette manœuvre que par la saisie que le bureau des Fermes a faite d'une partie des marchandises qui ont été mises à terre ; nous avons donc cru devoir, pour le bien de vos intérêts, faire suite de cette affaire : nous poursuivons le sieur Nau et ses officiers. Ce premier a pris la fuite avec son second, mais nous avons fait capturer deux officiers qui sont actuellement en prison....."

(9 janvier 1761.)

Le marquis de Vaudreuil au sieur Cadet.

Je suis très sensible, Monsieur, au compliment que vous voulez bien me faire à l'occasion de la nouvelle année.....

J'ai prévenu la demande que vous me faites de m'intéresser à la Cour

en votre faveur. La justice que je dois au zèle que vous avez prouvé en toute occasion, à la bonne volonté qui vous a si souvent fait trouver des ressources lorsqu'on n'espéroit plus et à votre constance à prendre, malgré des pertes très fréquentes et très considérables, les plus justes mesures pour remplir vos fonctions et garantir la colonie d'une disette qui l'eût obligé de se rendre un an plus tôt, m'a rendu vos services trop présents pour les perdre de vue, et suivant ce qu'il m'a paru et ce que m'a dit M. Accaron, chef des bureaux de la marine, qui trouve vos représentations fort justes, le Ministre est bien intentionné à votre égard. J'ai lu la copie du placet que vous lui avez adressé; votre exposé ne renferme rien qui ne soit à l'appui de la vérité. Dès que j'irai à Versailles je ne manquerai pas de solliciter le sauf-conduit que vous désirez et je ferai mon possible pour vous l'obtenir. On parle beaucoup de paix, si nous pouvions l'avoir, dans peu vos affaires en iroient mieux et plus vite; n'importe, je crois qu'elles tourneront à votre satisfaction, ainsi que vous le mérites et que je le souhaite. Si quelque chose leur nuit, ce ne sera jamais que la circonstance de l'épuisement des finances. Vous pouvez toujours être persuadé que je ferai tout ce qui dépendra de moi pour vous rendre service par l'intérêt que je prends à ce qui regarde et la sincérité avec laquelle je suis.....".

(5 mars 1764.)

Extrait des lettres de grâce.

Sa Majesté.....prévoyant combien la présence du dit Cadet peut importer à notre service et même lui être nécessaire relativement à la liquidation des dépenses faites en Canada, pour la partie dont le dit sieur Cadet étoit chargé.....

C'est pourquoi nous avons, de notre grâce spéciale, pleine puissance et autorité royale, quitté et déchargé, quittons et déchargeons par les présentes, signées de notre main, le dit Joseph Cadet de la peine du bannissement à laquelle il a été condamné par le jugement du 10 décembre dernier, nous réservant de faire valoir, comme ainsi que nous l'aviserez bon être, la condamnation prononcée contre le dit Cadet en restitution de la somme de six millions.....

(28 septembre 1767.) .

Attestation de M. le marquis de Vaudreuil.

Pierre de Rigaud, marquis de Vaudreuil, grand'croix de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint Louis, ancien Gouverneur, Lieutenant général pour le Roi en Canada.

Sur la demande qui nous a été faite par le Sr Cadet, ci-devant munitionnaire au Canada, d'expliquer d'une manière plus positive le contenu du certificat que nous lui avons donné en date du 15 novembre 1766, relativement aux dépenses et pertes qu'il a essuyées pendant les campagnes de 1759 et 1760, dans l'exécution des différens ordres que le bien du service du Roi nous a obligé de donner tant à ce munitionnaire qu'aux capitaines de ses navires, nous n'avons pas cru devoir refuser l'ampliation d'attestation que le d. Sr Cadet désire, attendu que ce n'est réellement qu'en conséquence de l'autorité avec la quelle nous l'avons fait agir et avons disposé des navires, officiers et matelots qui lui appartenoient, qu'il a souffert les dites pertes et dépenses, ainsi que nous en avons informé la Cour par les comptes que nous avons rendus en 1759 et 1760 des opérations et des circonstances qui nous avoient engagé à donner ces ordres.

Nous attestons donc :

Qu'en may 1759, nous ordonnâmes au sieur Kanon, commandant les navires du Sr Cadet, de monter avec toute sa flotte à Batiscan, 24 lieues au-dessus de Québec, pour servir d'entrepôt à tous les vivres de la campagne et à partie des munitions de guerre, afin de mettre ces approvisionnement à l'abri des incendies de la ville et des insultes de l'ennemi auxquels ils auroient pu être exposés partout ailleurs, disposition qui a occasionné au Sr Cadet des transports immenses et très dispendieux de Batiscan au camp de Beauport, les quels se sont faits pendant la campagne de 1759, partie par eau et partie par terre ; par terre lors que l'ennemi eut fait passer au-dessus de Québec plusieurs vaisseaux qui tenoient ordinairement poste à la Pointe-aux-Trembles, à sept lieues de distance de Québec et qui, par ce moyen, rendaient la communication par eau aussi difficile que risquable.

2° Qu'au commencement de la campagne de 1759, nous donnâmes

nos ordres pour faire mettre à terre 50 officiers et 1200 matelots des bâtimens du Sr Cadet, composant majeure partie des équipages de ses navires, les quels nous employâmes sur les batteries de la ville de Québec et celles du camp de Beauport, sur les batimens de mer, batteries flottantes, carcassières et à Jacques-Cartier. Ces officiers et matelots ont commencé le service le 1er juillet 1759 et l'ont continué jusques et y compris le 31 octobre de la d. année, sans pour cela cesser un instant d'être à la solde du Sr Cadet.

3° Qu'à l'ouverture de la même campagne, nous fîmes prendre un bateau appelé *le Saint-Charles* appartenant au Sr Cadet qui l'avoit armé pour le Montlouis et nous l'envoyâmes avec un détachement ramasser les pilotes de la rivière répandus le long de ses côtes, afin de les soustraire aux Anglois. Ce bateau fut joint dans sa route par les ennemis qui s'en emparèrent.

Qu'au commencement du siège de Québec, en 1759, nous fîmes prendre pareillement les gabarres *la Manon* et *la Madeleine*, du port de 40 tonneaux chacune, pour transporter des bestiaux de la côte du sud à celle du nord, et au mois de juillet de la même année elles furent brûlées par les Anglois à la Pointe-aux-Trembles.

Que, dans la même année, nous fîmes employer le bateau *le Saint-Roch*, du port de 60 tonneaux, appartenant au Sr Cadet, à transporter des vivres du moulin de Terrebonne et de la rade de Batiscan à la Pointe-aux-Trembles et au cap Rouge au-dessus de Québec, pour la subsistance de l'armée de Beauport, et le 13 septembre 1759, pour éviter que le bateau ne tombât entre les mains des ennemis, il fut brûlé avec les vivres dont il étoit chargé.

Que, dans le même tems, nous disposâmes de la goëlette *la Manette*, du port de 100 tonneaux, appartenant au Sr Cadet, pour être employée au transport des vivres de différens endroits de la colonie au camp de Beauport, pendant le siège. Et l'on fut obligé de la brûler le 19 août 1759, pour la soustraire aux Anglois.

Qu'au mois de juillet 1759, nous donnâmes ordre au capitaine Kanon de descendre de Batiscan avec trois des plus fortes frégates du munitionnaire à la tête du Richelieu pour joindre deux frégates du Roi qui y étoient et former une chaîne afin d'empêcher les navires ennemis, mouillés à

trois lieues au-dessous, de monter plus haut. Il fut naufragé dans cette descente, le 29 août 1759, une des frégates du sieur Cadet, appelée *la Nanon*, du port de 450 tonneaux, montant 22 canons.

Qu'en novembre 1759, le d. Sr Cadet voulant renvoyer quinze de ses navires en France pour les désarmer, nous ordonnâmes aux capitaines qui les commandoient d'attendre nos dépêches pour la Cour, les quelles ne purent arriver à bord que le 20 novembre, attendu nos grandes occupations et l'étendue des détails que nous avions à faire au Ministre sur la situation de la colonie et les mouvemens qui s'étoient faits. Ces bâtimens furent assaillis d'une tempête la nuit du 22 au 23 novembre 1759, à une lieue au-dessous de Québec, qui jeta deux frégates et un navire à la côte à l'endroit nommé le Sault-à-la-Chaudière. L'une de ces frégates étoit le *Maréchal de Senecière*, du port de 300 tonneaux, montant 36 canons ; l'autre le *Soleil-Royal*, de 300 tonneaux, montant 22 canons, et le navire étoit le *Duc de Fronsac*.

Que pendant le siège de Québec, en 1760, nous fîmes employer les navires *l'Amitié* et *le Sion* pour servir d'entrepôt, et qu'ils furent brûlés le 17 mai, même année, pour les soustraire aux Anglois.

Nous avons rendu compte, dans ce tems, au Ministre de tous ces faits ; nos lettres doivent encore se trouver dans les bureaux de la marine, et nous promîmes au nom de Sa Majesté au munitionnaire qu'il lui seroit tenu compte de ces différentes dépenses et du prix de ses navires et bâtimens.

Nous attestons, en outre, que l'exigence des cas, la distance des lieux et les troubles que la guerre entraînoit, nous ont empêché de faire transporter les commissaires de la marine sur les bâtimens et navires et d'en faire dresser des procès-verbaux en règle. On ne doit pas, par conséquent, imputer au munitionnaire cette force majeure, d'autant plus que nous n'attendions pas même son aveu pour disposer de ses bâtimens, et que l'éloignement dans lequel il étoit souvent de nous, à cause de son service, ne nous permettoit pas de lui adresser à lui-même les ordres que nous donnions.—En foi de quoi nous avons signé le présent et à icelui fait apposer le sceau de nos armes.—A Paris, le 28 juillet 1767.

Signé : DE VAUDREUIL.

(28 mars 1778.)

Le marquis de Vaudreuil, ancien gouverneur général du Canada, à M. le comte de Maurepas.

Monseigneur,

Je viens d'apprendre que vous avés un jugement à porter sur une affaire dans laquelle on cite mon témoignage, l'affaire du Sr Cadet, ancien munitionnaire du Canada. Comme témoin oculaire des faits sur lesquels sont fondées les demandes de ce munitionnaire, je crois devoir vous observer, Monseigneur, que le Sr Cadet m'a montré les mémoires que vous avés actuellement sous les yeux et que je les ai trouvés vrais dans les circonstances qu'ils rapportent, savoir :

1° Qu'en 1760, la ration que le Sr Cadet fournissoit lui coûtoit trois fois plus que le Roi ne devoit la lui payer ;

2° Que pour soutenir les vaisseaux de Sa Majesté, j'ai fait descendre ces navires qui servoient d'entrepôt aux vivres et que ce mouvement lui a fait perdre une frégate ;

3° Que pour porter mes dépêches au Ministre, j'ai été forcé de lui donner ordre de retarder le départ de ses navires, et que ce retard a été cause qu'il a perdu plusieurs de ces mêmes navires par l'effet des mauvais tems qui les ont surpris en rivière, perte qui a monté seule à plus de neuf cent mille livres ;

4° Enfin, qu'en rendant compte de ces événemens au Ministre en 1760, je proposai de récompenser les services de ce munitionnaire par des lettres de noblesse.

Ces faits, Monseigneur, sont constans, et j'ai l'honneur de vous assurer qu'ils sont en même temps très exacts. Je puis aussi vous assurer, Monseigneur, que le Sr Cadet mérite réellement que vous ayiés égard à sa situation par ce que c'est un sujet unique et qu'il n'est pas possible de servir avec plus de distinction qu'il l'a fait dans sa partie. Sans ses soins infatigables, sans ses ressources, il est certain que les troupes du Roy seroient périées faute de vivres, et que le Canada auroit été au pouvoir de l'ennemi un an plus tôt. Ce zèle singulier du Sr Cadet a même

contribué à la gloire des armes du Roi ; dans un tems bien essentiel, au commencement de 1760, où il sembloit que les armées angloises nous avoient ôté tout pouvoir de défense, il a surmonté alors des obstacles incroyables pour trouver des subsistances, en sorte que ce n'est positivement que par ses moyens et ses expédiens que je suis parvenu à mettre en campagne l'armée avec laquelle M. le marquis de Levis a battu les Anglois sous Québec, au printemps de 1760.

Vous aimés la vérité, Monseigneur, vous aimés aussi la justice, c'est uniquement pour rendre hommage à ces deux vertus que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire à l'occasion du Sr Cadet.

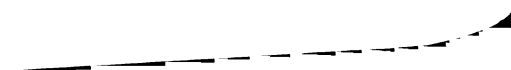
Je suis, etc . . .

END OF VOL. V.

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